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24 December 1985

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

IRAQ

- Second Pipeline Pact Signed
(KHALEEJ TIMES, 23 Nov 85) 1

ISRAEL

- IDF Commando Operations Reviewed
(Uri Milstein; HADASHOT, 6 Oct 85) 2
- Withdrawal From Jabal Barukh Pictured
(Ari'el Gold; BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR, Jun 85) 11
- Syrian Air Capability Examined
(Doron Dan'ai; BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR, Jun 85) 17
- Air Force Role in Lebanon War Assessed
(Yaqir Elqariv; BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR, Jun 85) 22
- Moonlighting Approved for NCO's in North
(Hirsh Goodman; THE JERUSALEM POST, 17 Nov 85) 31
- Farm Delegation Visit to China
(Macabee Dean; THE JERUSALEM POST, 17 Nov 85) 32
- Need for Tax Reform
(Editorial; THE JERUSALEM POST, 17 Nov 85) 33
- Oil Shale Project Opened
(Ilan Chaim; THE JERUSALEM POST, 20 Nov 85) 35
- Severe Rain Shortage
(THE JERUSALEM POST, 21 Nov 85) 37

Possibility of Water Rationing (Yitzhak Oked; THE JERUSALEM POST, 22 Nov 85)	38
Possibility of Wind Power Assessed (ISRAEL ENERGY NEWS, Autumn 85)	39
Briefs Golan Wind Turbine Begins Operations	43
LEBANON	
Shams-al-Din Critical of UNIFIL, Tripartite Talks (Nadim Abou-Ghannam; MONDAY MORNING, 4-10 Nov 85)	44
SYRIA	
5-Year Plan Successful Despite Setbacks (T. Mahadi; SYRIA TIMES, 23 Oct 85)	49
Efforts To Mechanize Agriculture, Mine Salt Surveyed (T. Mahadi; SYRIA TIMES, 1 Oct 85)	51
Briefs Cotton Production Increase	53
SOUTH ASIA	
AFGHANISTAN	
Citizens Reportedly Return Taking Advantage of Amnesty (NEW TIMES, 26 Sep 85)	54
Clash Between Iran, Afghan Refugees (KABUL NEW TIMES, 7 Oct 85)	55
Farmers Said Profiting From Implemented Reform (Enayatullah Ramz; KABUL NEW TIMES, 16 Oct 85)	56
Reform Said Improving Agriculture (KABUL NEW TIMES, 8 Oct 85)	59
Onyx Deposits Said To Be Among World's Best (KABUL NEW TIMES, 7 Oct 85)	60
BANGLADESH	
Paper Reports Ershad Speech on UN Anniversary (THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 20 Oct 85)	62

INDIA

Writer Enumerates Problems in Indo-PRC Relations (THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, 4 Nov 85)	64
Akali Dal Urged To Show Firmness (Prabhash Joshi; JANSATTA, 4 Oct 85)	67
CPI-M Politburo Member Lauds Gandhi Foreign Policy (Arup Kumar Chanda; THE TELEGRAPH, 11 Oct 85)	71
Paper Reports Gandhi Interview With British Weekly (THE STATESMAN, 11 Oct 85)	72
Paper Reports Gandhi 'Special Briefing' in London (Batuk Gathani; THE HINDU, 17 Oct 85)	74
Rajiv Meets Newsmen at Delhi Press Club (THE STATESMAN, 12 Oct 85)	76
Paper Reports Composition of Rajasthan Cabinet (PATRIOT, 17 Oct 85)	80
Gandhi Speech to Parliamentary Defense Panel Reported (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 12 Oct 85)	81
Italian Assistance in Technology Sought (PATRIOT, 20 Oct 85)	82
Problems of, Plans for Purifying Ganges Water (B. S. Padmanabhan; THE HINDU, 12 Oct 85)	83

IRAN

Tehran Comments on Syrian Delegation's Visit, Ties (Tehran Domestic Service, 2 Dec 85)	86
Arabic Journal Carries Bahrain Front Statement (AL-SHAHID, 23 Oct 85)	88
Deterioration of Relations With Ankara, Damascus Reported (London KEYHAN, 24 Oct 85)	90
Opposition Paper Reports on 'Struggle' Among Judicial Organs (London KEYHAN, 21 Nov 85)	94
Majlis Members' 'Confidential Letter' on Corruption in Country (London KEYHAN, 24 Oct 85)	95
FRG Radio: U.S. Arms Sold to Islamic Regime Through Israel (London KEYHAN, 14 Nov 85)	107

Briefs	
Regime 'Preparing Succession' Claimed	109
Tripoli Embassy Supports Libyan Revolution	109

PAKISTAN

Amendments to Political Parties Act To Be Opposed (DAWN, 13 Nov 85)	110
Text of Political Parties Bill Reported (DAWN, 12 Nov 85)	112
Former Judge Views Political Situation in Country (DAWN, 9 Nov 85)	114
Commentary on Gandhi Comment on Afghanistan (Karachi Domestic Service, 1 Dec 85)	116
Plan Proposed for Narrowing Trade Gap (M. Ziauddin; DAWN, 9 Nov 85)	118
Fiscal Dimensions of Provincial Autonomy Analyzed (M. Nawaz Khan; DAWN, 11, 12 Nov 85)	120
Sind Allocates Plots to Overseas Workers (DAWN, 12 Nov 85)	124
Aviation Institute Inaugurated (DAWN, 13 Nov 85)	126
Briefs	
Gas Reserves Discovered	127
Pakistan-Oman Trade Deal	127
Exploratory Wells Dug	127
Robbers Battle With Police	128

IRAQ

SECOND PIPELINE PACT SIGNED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 23 Nov 85 p 23

[Text]

ANKARA — A Turkish-Italian consortium yesterday signed an agreement with the Turkish pipeline authority Botas to build the Turkish section of a second pipeline for Iraqi oil exports, a consortium spokesman said.

Iraqi Oil Minister Qassem Ahmed Taqi and Turkish Finance Minister Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemecin looked on as representatives of Saipem Spa of Italy and Turkish construction firms Kutlutas and Tekfen signed the accord with Botas.

The \$255-million deal covers the Turkish part of a 980km line to run parallel to an existing one from Iraq's Kirkuk oilfield to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Yumurtalik.

Doubling up the pipeline is part of Iraq's drive to expand its export channels since war with Iran closed its traditional route through the Gulf.

The same consortium has been awarded a contract from the Iraqi pipeline authority Scop for construction of the Iraqi section of the line.

Botas is financing the Turkish section with a \$165 million Italian export credit and a \$92 million Euroloan guaranteed by the Turkish state.

The consortium spokesman said work on the second pipeline would start when the credit agreement was signed,

probably within the next few weeks, and should be completed in 18 months.

Consortium officials said Iraq was pressing Saipem to accept payment for the \$225 million Iraqi section of the pipeline in oil.

Doubling up the pipeline is intended to increase capacity of the route to 1.5 million barrels per day from one million. An earlier plan for a spur to Turkey's Batman oilfield, where the Iraqi oil was to be mixed with heavy Turkish crude for easier pumping to the coast, was not included in yesterday's contract, officials said.

Figures released yesterday showed that in the first nine months of 1985 Turkey bought 4.6 million tonnes of oil from Iran and 4.3 million from Iraq, its two biggest suppliers.

Mr Taqi had returned home on Thursday from Moscow, where he held talks on oil cooperation, including investment in a new oilfield recently discovered in southern Iraq.

The talks with Soviet Minister for Construction of Oil and Gas Industry Enterprises Vladimir Chirsky also covered ways of promoting oil industry cooperation and exchange of oil expertise between the two countries.

During his week-long visit, Mr Taqi also had talks with officials of the Soviet state committee for external economic relations on expansion of bilateral economic cooperation.

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ISRAEL

IDF COMMANDO OPERATIONS REVIEWED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 6 Oct 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Uri Milstein: "And Thou Shalt Make War by Ruse"]

[Test] The destruction of the PLO headquarters in Tunis was undoubtedly a great aviation feat because of the great distance from Israel, the surprise penetration into the air space of another country, the precise hit, and the fact that all the pilots and planes returned home intact. The operation attested to the capability of the IDF to carry out commando missions, particularly in-between conventional wars, in the war of attrition that has been waged with the Arab world for 38 years.

The three main elements of such warfare are: planning and stratagem--brains; movement and maneuverability--feet; and fire--muscle. The stronger the stratagem element, the greater the chance of taking the enemy by surprise and inflicting great damage at a relatively small price. The stratagem is the main element of a commando operation, but the implementation of a precise plan is extremely complex; it requires accurate execution from the commanders and fighters, excellent intelligence backing, highly professional technical units, and cooperation between corps and branches. The smallest malfunction in any of those elements may cause the entire operation to fail, so that instead of a great achievement there is a great catastrophe.

We Did Not Fail at Entebbe

For example, on the night between 3 and 4 of July 1976, the IDF freed the Air France hostages from Entebbe Airport, Uganda, in one of the most famous commando operations in history. Let us assume that the terrorists or the Ugandans had managed to damage the engine of the last plane to return from Uganda, after the liberation of the hostages, and the entire elite unit, led by the late Yoni Netanyahu, had been trapped and destroyed. Then the operation would have been considered as one of the IDF's most resounding failures, a dangerous, ill thought out, and unjustified gamble. An investigation commission would have been set up, and it is reasonable to assume that the prime minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, Defense Minister Shim'on Peres, and Chief-of-Staff Mordechai Gur would have been called to account and compelled to resign. Just as Golda Me'ir, her cabinet, and Chief-of-Staff David El'azar resigned after the publication of the Agranat Commission report in 1974, and

just as Arik Sharon resigned from the Defense Ministry after the release of the Cohen Commission report.

The IDF's greatest failure regarding commando operations was the "mess" in Egypt in 1954. The purpose of that operation had been to damage U.S. installations in Egypt, as well as the relations between the United States and Egypt. The Egyptian authorities arrested 11 Egyptian Jews and put them on trial. Two were executed and the others were sentenced to long prison terms. That fiasco shook the Israeli political system and the IDF, and evolved into the "Lavon Affair," which caused the rift in MAPAI and severely damaged the standing of its senior leaders, David Ben-Gurion and Pinhas Lavon.

The United States failed a few years ago in its attempt to free the American hostages in Tehran, after Khomeyni came to power. The awkward poor performance of the American task force, even in the early stages of the operation, sent deep tremors through the U.S. Army and was one of the reasons that President Jimmy Carter was defeated by Ronald Reagan in his attempt to win a second term in office.

Consequently, commando missions are avoided even when armies do have the capability to carry them out, and most armies in the world do not have such capabilities anyway. The IDF, too, has carried out few special operations, and almost none at all during wars. The only extensive special operation carried out in time of war was the destruction of the Egyptian air force and then of the other Arab air forces in the first hours of the Six-Day War. The complete success of that operation strategically wiped out the fighting capability of the Egyptian army. The remaining 5 1/2 days of the war were in actual fact spent in chasing after an enemy whose leaders and senior commanders had lost the will to fight. The British military theoretician, Lydell (Hart) viewed that as the embodiment of the ideal of the smart war according to the indirect approach.

Intelligence Operations

Special missions are divided into two groups: intelligence and operational. The majority of the IDF's special missions have belonged to the intelligence group and have been very covert indeed. IDF senior commanding officers would often say: When the details of these operations are published, 50 years from now, hairs will stand on end.

Something about the nature of intelligence operations can be gleaned from the work of similar units before the establishment of the state. One of them was the "Arabized" unit of the PALMACH. Its members worked as Arabs in Arab countries and supplied the HAGANA with precise information on almost every topic. The most famous "Would-be Arab," was Ya'qub (Ya'akov Cohen) from Kibbutz Alonim, who was at home in Syria. During the War of Independence he visited several times in al-Qunaytirah in the Golan Heights, and brought back tactical information that helped IDF operations.

A failed intelligence special mission was the infiltration of five IDF men into Syria in the middle of the 1950's; they were to place listening devices on telephone lines. All five were caught in the act. In the night of 12 to 13

January 1955 one of the five, Uri Eylan, hanged himself in the Syrian jail. Prime Minister Moshe Sharet wrote at the time in his diary: "In the meantime it appears that the entire organization of this mission was marked by a terrifying lack of responsibility. Young people were sent off without any mature leadership. They were not instructed what to do in case of failure. And the result was that they broke down at the first questioning and told the truth. The general impression is that there has been here criminal negligence on the part of the Intelligence Branch, i.e., of Binyamin Gibli."

"Lino" and "Robber"

Operational special missions are fewer. The reason is that there are intelligence objectives that cannot be attained without a special mission, while in the area of actual warfare one is freer to choose, at least in theory, between commando action, conventional, or even routine operations. As a rule, IDF commanders prefer to send into action a whole armor or infantry battalion against a terrorist target, instead of an elite unit on a commando mission, because of the difference in the threshold of danger. A failed commando operation may cost the lives of all the fighters, while a failed conventional operation will leave the entire capability intact, although in terms of absolute figures, in the first case 10 men may be killed, while in the second 50. This is one of the toughest dilemmas of government and General Staff decision-makers. They usually choose conventional methods.

One of the commando operations of the War of Independence was carried out in the port of Bari, Italy, on the Mediterranean, between Italy and Israel. In April 1948 the freighter "Lino" entered the port of Bari in southern Italy, carrying a great quantity of arms and explosives destined for Syria. A PALMACH navy unit, led by the late Yosef Dror, sank the ship in port, using a limpet mine. Yosef Dror said that one of the PALMACH leaders told him, after his return home: "Your action, at such a critical time, equals the action of at least one entire regiment in the War of Independence." Added Dror: "The commander of such a team, who only has one or two men under him, is required to consider as many factors as the commander of a brigade or regiment. An action such as ours does not resemble that of a unit storming an enemy target. It does not leave room for going with the current or for blunted senses. There, after meticulous planning and preparations, one advances slowly and carefully on the objective. Nerves are stretched tighter than strings, but the head remains cool and calculating."

With the aid of the Italian authorities, the Syrians managed to bring to the surface the weapons at Bari, and shipped them in August 1948 on the vessel "Argiro" to Alexandria. In operation "Robber," the IDF put two Italian mechanics who worked for it on the Argiro, and on 19 August an Israeli force took the ship over, having caught up with it in a fishing boat. On the 26th of August the arms were transferred to the Navy ships "Wedgewood" and "Hagana," and the "Argiro" was sunk. Its Italian crew was brought to Haifa and released after a few months.

Toward the end of 1955 Egypt's President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir closed the Tiran Straits to Israeli navigation. The IDF planned to occupy Sharm ash-Shaykh in operation "Omer," led by the commander of the "Giv'ati" brigade, Hayim Bar-

Lev. The operation was planned as a relatively extensive commando mission, with the participation of two regiments of paratroopers, led by Ari'el Sharon, who were to land in Sharm ash-Shaykh, and two "Giv'ati" regiments who were to be driven from Elat. Navy, navy commando, and air force units were scheduled to participate in the operation. Operation "Yarkon" was carried out with a view to verifying movement possibilities on the 70 km. between Ayn-Portega and Dahav.

A Team in a Fishing Boat

Five officers and a sergeant were sent, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Asher Levy, commander of regiment 51 of the Giv'ati Brigade and his deputy, 'Immanu'el (Mano) Shaked, who then became chief commander of the paratroopers and infantry. In the morning of the 9th of June, the team left Elat in a small fishing boat, which sailed along the Saudi coast and managed to evade the Egyptian coast patrol. The Egyptian vessel "Abu Qasir," which was carrying supplies to the Egyptian positions along the Gulf of Elat, approached the boat. Two Israeli planes, which rushed over the Egyptian vessel at zero altitude, convinced the Egyptian captain to leave the area.

In the darkness, and with much delay, the team members landed on the coast in rubber boats, near Dahav, and moved northward toward the concealed observation point. A Bedouin woman saw them and reported to the Egyptians. The radio connection planned with a "Dakota" plane failed, because of the darkness. During the night, the team advanced from Dahav to Ayn Portega. The following day, the Dakota dropped its water containers, most of which broke on the way down. Only the last container landed undamaged. The men buried the broken containers, and hid again to wait for darkness.

On 12 June, they arrived in the Ayn Portega area. At twilight, six "Piper" planes landed next to them and took them from the improvised air field north. An Egyptian patrol arrived at the spot, but too late. The reconnaissance team reported: Movement is possible between Ayn Portega and Dahav.

In the end, operation "Omer" was cancelled, and the findings of operation "Yarkon" were used by brigade 9 under the command of Avraham Yaffe in the famous trek to Sharm ash-Shaykh in the Suez Campaign, 1 year later. Mano Shaked, who was the deputy commanding officer of operation "Yarkon," was appointed, 17 years later, chief commander of the infantry, and in 1973 he commanded one of the IDF's most successful commando actions, "Spring of Youth," on the night of 9 to 10 April 1973, in which IDF fighters killed three terrorist leaders in their homes. (see HADASHOT 29 March 85).

Airport Storming Practice

In the Suez and Six-Day wars there were no commando operations by special forces, except for the dropping of paratroopers at Mitla in 1956, which was not a fighting operation. Aside from the destruction of the Arab air forces on the ground in 1967, there was no commando fighting. However, IDF task forces did prepare before the war for commando warfare, in which raiding forces would destroy enemy aircraft and command posts. Lieutenant Colonel (Res) Arye Zidon was in command of a paratrooper reconnaissance unit between 1963-65. He says:

"Everyone was then afraid of the Arab air forces and did not know how they would be able to neutralize them in the case of war."

In the end, the paratrooper scouts and the other elite unit were not sent on commando missions in the Six-Day war because of the overwhelming success of the Air Force. Colonel (Res) Danny Wolf is convinced that the cancellation of the commando missions in that war caused the IDF enormous damage and reinforced the tendency of senior commanding officers to favor conventional warfare methods in time of war. And indeed, in the Yom Kippur and Lebanon wars there were very few commando actions, and those which were carried out were minor. In Lebanon particularly, there had been ideal conditions for commando and combined operations.

The majority of IDF's operational commando missions were carried out between the Six-Day war and the Yom Kippur war, during the war of attrition with Egypt, and in fighting terrorism. During that period it was demonstrated that the IDF has an enormous potential for such operations and a relative advantage in this area over all the Arab armics, and perhaps over the majority of other armies in the world, just as it has a relative advantage in the action of accurate fighter pilots. The supporters of the commando school of thought in the IDF claim that then, too, the IDF had been capable of carrying out much more complex and daring actions. But the high command did not take advantage of even a fraction of this potential.

Let us describe a few of the commando operations of that period, some better and some less known, and some almost not known at all, the details of which will not be revealed for the first time.

"Craze 6"

On 10 July 1969 Egyptian commandoes raided an IDF tank post south of Port Tawfiq, near the southern end of the Suez Canal. Two IDF soldiers were killed, five wounded, and two tanks were destroyed. The IDF decided to respond in kind: to send Israeli commandoes to cross the water barrier and destroy an Egyptian objective.

Rafa'el (Raful) was then commander of the infantry and chief commanding officer of special missions. He wanted to kill the Egyptians from close-up. As a target he suggested Green (al-Akhdar) Island, an artificial island built by the British on a rock, some 2.5 km. south of Port Tawfiq. The island is built in three levels: the highest is the site of a fortified building 145 m long, 45 m wide, and 2.5 m high.

According to reports, on the island there was a sophisticated radar station and six heavy artillery guns, guarded by Egyptian commandoes.

At the discussion at the IDF General Staff, everyone was in favor of the operation, except for the Air Force commander, Moti Hod, who claimed that the same purpose could be achieved by sending out one airplane to bomb the target. But Raful and the others wanted to see the Egyptians' eyes before they died, something pilots cannot do.

The execution was entrusted to two elite units: the navy commando under Brigadier General (Res) Ze'ev Almog (then lieutenant colonel), and an elite unit under the command of Colonel (Res) Menahem Rigley, (then a lieutenant colonel). Raful oversaw the entire operation, Almog the action on the island, and Colonel (Res) Dov (then a captain) the break-in force.

The combined forces trained intensively for about 8 days, and left on their mission in rubber dinghies on the night of 19-20 July 1969. Close to the target, Dov and his men jumped out of the boats and swam and dived to the island. At that point it became clear that the navy and commando training was faulty: it did not take into account the strong water currents in the Suez, and did not select the optimal advance axis accordingly. Dov himself had for some reason not participated in the relevant preparations, and the chief responsible for this lapse was Ze'ev Almog.

After great efforts and considerable timetable delay, Dov and his men reached the target, shot down two guards, and rapidly established a bridgehead. Dov reported to Almog that he had been scheduled to land quickly from the boats on the island, together with additional forces of the navy commando and Rigley's fighters. But the second wave did not arrive.

Rigley said: "The order had been not to overtake Almog's boat. On the way, the boat began to jump, stopped, and we stopped, too. Almog did not allow us to pass him. He was in command of the operation, so we obeyed. It was a while before we received Raful's order not to wait for Almog, and to go on."

Precious time was thus wasted, and time is vital in a commando mission. Dov, who was under massive Egyptian fire, did not wait for Almog and Rigley and proceeded to fulfill the remaining missions. In the meantime, the other forces reached the island. The original plan was thrown out of kilter. The Egyptians put up a good fight, and many men were wounded. Almog, who had arrived, too, was not in command of the forces. The Egyptians began shelling the island from the shore, despite the presence of their men on it. Even before the mission was accomplished, Raful gave orders to break contact and withdraw. The withdrawal, in the boats, proceeded under heavy Egyptian shelling. Three of the navy commandoes and three of Rigley's men were killed, and 10 were wounded. During the operation it emerged that the intelligence group had been mistaken, and that there was no radar on the island. The heavy artillery guns had been placed there decades ago by the British and were not in use.

The planning, intelligence, and senior command in this operation were all faulty. Dov and his men put up superb fighting, but the operation did not accomplish its mission: "To put the Egyptians in their place and to make them realize that their true military capabilities are far from being able to compete with the IDF." Chief-of-Staff Bar-Lev, Intelligence Branch Chief Aharon Yariv, Infantry Commander Raful, and the navy commando commander, Ze'ev Almog, did not learn the appropriate lessons, and mounted a campaign to convince the bereaved parents and the public that the action had been necessary and successful. As is the rule in the IDF, those responsible for the fiasco retained their positions and advanced to the negative limits of their discharge. As commander of the Navy, Almog froze Dov's advance and assigned him to minor jobs, until Dov was finally forced to resign.

Operation "Raviv" [drizzle]

After the Six-Day War, the commander of the armor troops, Brigadier General Yisra'el Tal appointed Lieutenant Colonel (Res) Shelomo Baum (then a major) as commanding officer of the reconnaissance unit of Brigade 7. Baum, who in 1953 had been deputy commanding officer of Unit 101, turned reconnaissance unit 7 into an armored commando unit. Tal's replacement, Brigadier General (Res) Avraham (Baran) Adan, carried out Baum's plan upon the order of Chief-of-Staff Bar-Lev, to raid the Egyptian rear with tanks and APC's landed from the sea.

For non-professional reasons, Adan put Major General (Res) Barukh Har'el (Pinko, then a lieutenant colonel) in command of the operation. The raid took place in the night of 8 to 9 September 1969. Three landing vessels sailed from Ras-Sudar and landed six Russian tanks and six Russian BTR APCs that had been taken in the Six-Day War on the western bank of the Suez canal. In the area there were about 25 Egyptian border guard posts, and 3 larger bases with radar installations: Ra's Abu-Daraj, Ra's Za'frana, and Marsa Tilmat. Those bases had armor and infantry forces. Frequent patrols moved between the bases and the guard posts.

The IDF armored commando unit was in action on Egyptian territory for 10 hours, in broad daylight, over an area of 50 km. Baum and his men destroyed most of the guard posts, 2 of the larger bases, and 80 vehicles, and killed more than 100 Egyptian troops, including a senior officer with the rank of general, who was the regional civilian governor of the Red Sea sector, and a Soviet adviser with the rank of general. The IDF had no casualties.

The Egyptian commanding officers in the area did not report the raid to the General Staff in Cairo. President 'Abd-al-Nasir learned of the action only after Baum and his men had returned to the Israeli border. 'Abd-al-Nasir had a heart attack, and when he recovered, he fired the chief of staff, Ahmad Isma'il 'Ali, the Navy commander, and the military commander of the Red Sea district. Foreign military experts described the operation as an "imaginative acrobatic act. Bar-Lev and Baran reaped much praise.

Operation "Isotope 1"

The greatest among special operations commanders of the IDF is Intelligence Chief Brig Gen Ehud Barak, who was in command of the elite forces after Menahem Rigley. Barak earned three distinguished service orders in such operations. One of the special missions Barak commanded was the storming of the hijacked Sabena plane on 9 May 1972 at the Lod airport.

On the 8th of May a Sabena Boeing 707 took off from Brussels, via Vienna, to Lod. On the plane were two Arab terrorists and one Arab woman, carrying Israeli passports. At the Schwechat airport in Vienna, another Arab boarded the plane, carrying two hand guns, a Russian hand grenade, and explosive charges. At 1735, while the Boeing was over Rhodes, one of the terrorists, Ahmad Musa Awad stood up, went to the pilot's cabin, put a gun to the head of the captain--Reginald Levy, a Jewish Belgian--and declared: "I am taking over the plane. Call me Captain Rif'at and continue to Lod."

Ahmad Musa, a "Black September" member, was experienced in hijacking planes. In July 1968 he participated in the hijacking of an El-Al plane to Algiers. Black September now intended to land the plane at Lod, demand the release of 300 terrorists jailed in Israel, and fly them to Cairo in return for the release of the hostages. The plane landed at Lod at 1910 and stopped, upon the instruction of the control tower, some 3 km from the airport building.

The airport manager, Shemu'el Kisslo, immediately reported to the Operations Chief at the General Staff, Mano Shaked: "We have a hijacked plane." Shaked said: "I only said one word and the operation was underway. I reported to Dado [Chief-of-Staff David El'azar], and operation "Isotope 1" began."

Shaked immediately called Ehud Barak from home. At 1930 Barak began to organize his men for the operation; they were immediately taken to Lod, where a general staff emergency headquarters was set up, starring Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, Chief-of-Staff David El'azar, and his deputy, Yisra'el Tal. At 2000 Dado instructed Barak to accompany the El Al technician who was to interfere with the airplane so that it could not continue its flight. Barak deployed two security teams, and under the cover of darkness, he approached the plane. A technician opened the valves of the hydraulic system in the wheel housings, and the oil began slowly dripping out.

At 2300 Dado ordered Barak to ready two teams, station them on the two sides of the plane, and prepare to storm it. The commanding officer in charge of the complex technical preparations was Talik. He showed Barak and his men in one of the "hangars" of the Aviation Industries how to storm an El Al Boeing 707. Talik and Barak then decided to break through all the left-side doors and through the right-side emergency exit simultaneously.

"I Cannot Hold It"

In the meantime, long and exhausting negotiations were being carried out with the terrorists. On 9 May at 1215, the terrorists temporarily released Captain Levy. He arrived at the emergency headquarters at the airport building with an explosive sample, and said: "The situation is desperate, the terrorists have laid the explosive charges, if something is not done they will blow up the plane." Dayan asked for a respite to organize the release of the terrorists. Trucks loaded with prisoners were brought to the airport within sight of the terrorists.

At 1450 Barak and his men finished their preparations. They pretended to be El Al technicians come to prepare the plane for the flight to Cairo. At the same time, another airplane was towed next to the Sabena to make the terrorists think that it was being readied to fly the released terrorists to Cairo.

At 1525 two tractors left the airport building, and on them were long ladders and the storming teams. The men had guns hidden in their white overalls. A Red Cross man spotted a gun and drew Dayan's attention to it. The defense minister replied: "If you want them to fix the plane, send them to do it, if not, then do not." The seemingly indifferent answer pacified the Red Cross man. The terrorists requested that the "technicians" approach the plane one by one to check that they were not armed. After the check, Barak and his men gathered

under the plane, stood up two ladders, and prepared to scale them and break into the plane. One of the men asked him to wait, he had to empty his bladder. "I cannot hold it," he said. So the action was delayed until he had done his thing on the runway.

At 1629 Barak gave the order: "Get ready," and a few seconds later the storming began, lasting 90 seconds. Two terrorists were killed and two were captured. Passenger Mary Holzberg Anderson incurred a head injury and died as a result. None of the storming forces was injured.

The IDF commando units are only a small fraction of the army, and the number of special operations is negligible compared to the various conventional operations. In particular, the IDF suffers from a lack of special missions in time of war, perhaps because the overwhelming majority of senior IDF officers never took part in such actions. The lesson of the Tunis bombing is that the future of the IDF will be decided by the chance that Israel's defense leaders will give commando fighters and special operations.

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ISRAEL

WITHDRAWAL FROM JABAL BARUKH PICTURED

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew Jun 85 pp 11-13, 68

[Article by Ari'el Gold: "Coming Down from the Jabal"]

[Text] Coming down from the Jabal. Last check to see if all the equipment is well secured, write down license plate numbers, attach an armed escort to each vehicle, and there we go: The column of trucks takes the road home, to the Israeli border.

The trucks are laden with equipment of all the kinds used by the IDF: from beds, sleeping bags, and office furniture, to the most operational items. All that was used by the troops who manned the north-eastern most position of the Air Force in Lebanon, atop one of the highest peaks of the Jabal Barukh mountains.

Passing between the various buildings and installations of the position it is hard to believe that the dismantling work had begun only 1 and 1/2 days ago. Soldiers and officers come with their arms loaded. Here and there one is asked to help load a heavy case or a particularly long iron bar. Rooms and stations are emptying out fast. The trucks, parked close to the doors, are filling up.

"The dismantling is progressing a lot faster than we had expected," says Lt Colonel M., the commanding officer of the position. "It would seem that this cursed land and the desire to leave it are providing the men with great motivation. What took months to build is being dismantled in a few hours. The good weather helps, it is making the work easier."

The two main buildings of the position are underground buildings that had served as water reservoirs when the mountain was taken. They are linked by tunnels, which proved very useful in times of snow and storm, as well as in the night. The buildings were improved by the IDF and outfitted with water and electricity lines. In addition, a helicopter pad was built here. By the end of the evacuation, the empty buildings will be blown up and the entire position leveled.

Alertness to the End

The dismantling is thorough, almost to the foundation. Everything that can be taken apart is taken apart: from operational equipment to support beams. The wide scope of the dismantling and evacuation, and the rapid pace of the work have indeed created a hubbub, but no disorder by any means. "The dismantling work is proceeding in an orderly manner. We are not taking things apart for the sake of carting them away, but because the Air Force needs these items," Lt Colonel M. tells us during our visit. That is why people are making an effort to pack and load things in an orderly manner, and to mark the cases. This special care will undoubtedly make the work easier for the soldiers at bases in Israel who will be receiving the equipment.

Here and there you see white spots upon the brown ground of this mountain and of the mountains surrounding it. It is snow that had frozen and is now melting --a reminder of the tough winter days on top of Jabal Barukh.

The unit of Lt Colonel M. was the umbrella unit of a number of various other units that together formed the Air Force position on Jabal Barukh. Some of its duties were: to provide administrative support, procure non-standard equipment (such as parkas and other winter gear), and to provide various services--such as kitchen facilities--and help the units' men with their guard duties. A no less important area was technical aid in handling the equipment of the various units.

In the weeks preceeding the withdrawal from the eastern sector there had been a considerable increase in attacks on IDF soldiers. "We are in enemy territory and that is something we do not for a moment forget," says Lt Colonel M. "Here you have to remain alert and on guard to the last minute. Here one does not take unnecessary chances. And when one has to, one walks around in helmet and flack jacket."

The evacuation naturally interfered with services, which had not been bad at all, everything being relative. Lt Colonel M.: "In the past few days we have been forced to do without water at times; electricity supplies have been low and irregular. No toilets, no showers, and as for eating--just K-rations. At one point the beds and mattresses disappeared, too." But despite all the difficult conditions, those were taken as the most palpable signs of the approaching end of the stay in Lebanon--about which no one complained, of course. Every one was happy about the evacuation and understood that the deteriorating conditions were an unavoidable byproduct.

Sharon Had Become Really Attached to the Place...

You cannot speak about the evacuation of the Air Force position from Jabal Barukh without mentioning Sgt Major Sharon. He was on the first column that scaled Jabal Barukh shortly after it was taken, and he is one of the leaders of the last columns from the position to Israel. The long time he spent on top of the mountain left the seargent major with many memories. He says: "Many days we worked from 5 in the morning till 2 the next morning, and that in difficult conditions, without any support system. In winter, you come up the mountain and you never know when you'll be able to go back down." In keeping

with the best tradition of the first, Sgt Major Sharon was stuck in the first snow storm the IDF experienced on Jabal Barukh. The 5 1/2 hours he spent then on a mountain road he does not wish even on his enemies.

Sgt Major Sharon, the right hand of Lt Colonel M., took care of, among other things, services for the men in the position: color television, video, a new movie each week, kettles--the little things that make hard and dangerous service somewhat easier. He managed to surprise us by saying that he actually became attached to the place that had been his home for close to 3 years. But--he was glad to leave and to return home.

"I served here about 200 days," says Lt Colonel M., who counts the time in days. "They were hard and exhausting days. My men are not going to miss this place."

One of the elements that made up the Air Force position on Jabal Barukh and defended it was a battery of Chaparral missiles. At the time we visited its men, they and their weapons were prepared to open fire at any moment. "Preparedness remains the most important duty until the moment of withdrawal, and never mind that that will happen very soon," says Lieutenant A., commander of the battery.

Complete preparedness and full alert--and not only about spotting aircraft in the sky; every morning, the battery men go through their own current small-scale security exercise, when the firing team makes its way to the position. "Yesterday morning we discovered a mine on our axis. It was dismantled without casualties," says Sergeant A.

The scenery around the firing position of the battery is beautiful: the Lebanon Valley is studded with villages surrounded by tilled fields in brown and green. Lake Kir'on can be seen, and behind it Syria's Hermon and the Trans-Lebanon mountains.

The Heavy Equipment at the End

The Chaparral battery we saw on Jabal Barukh belongs to the regiment that is spread among other points in Lebanon and whose duty was, among other things, to provide anti-aircraft defense for the IDF troops returning home.

One of those points was Rashayyah, where the regiment had its headquarters. Until a few days prior to our visit, the headquarters was located in an orderly camp which included heated temporary buildings, hot water, and an outfitted kitchen and messhall. Those buildings were evacuated with the aid of huge cranes and trucks. They were replaced by a headquarters camp like the battery camp close to it, made up of tents: kitchen and mess-tents, living tents, and a "luxury tent," which housed the television and video sets. The war room and the rooms of the commanding officer and other regiment officers were nothing but trailers attached to trucks.

Everything was ready to be moved within a few hours. Once the order was given to take to the road, the tents were folded and the remaining personal and battery equipment was loaded. To those were added at the end the weapons

themselves. First they moved under their own steam, then they were hoisted on APC's or transporters. Part of the regiment was thus brought to new deployment points, still on Lebanese territory, within the new temporary deployment line, the IDF's last before the final withdrawal, while the other part of the regiment returned home.

Major I., the regiment commanding officer explains that in order to facilitate and simplify the process, he elected to have all the "heavy" evacuation done at once. As an officer who spends all his time with his troops in the field, he thoroughly felt the change: "On the one hand, you are cold at night, and at times uncomfortable. But on the other hand, you are glad this is over. And because we have to make do with the things that belong directly to the regiment, we are speeding up the evacuation, and every minute is worth it."

Living with the Katyushas

However, the fact of the approaching evacuation was by no means a signal to slacken action. In Lebanon there are no discounts: the tension chart did not register a downward trend toward the time of departure. Operations continued to the last moment, and there was no reason why what did not happen during weeks and months should not happen on the last day, the last hour, or on the way south. Precisely in the weeks prior to the evacuation, the eastern sector came to life, although most of the time it had been considered quiet. The Chaparral regiment site was not spared, either.

We witnessed a very good example in point on the day of our visit to Rashayyah: the sound of an explosion shook the area. A report came on the receiver: one of the battery teams was involved in the incident. Major I., accompanied by several of the regiment men, immediately left to ascertain what had happened and what had befallen his men. In the meantime, the camp was abuzz with speculations: Somebody tripped a mine? A missile exploded? An encounter with terrorists? Later it emerged that an explosive charge was set off against the vehicle bearing the launching device. It had happened at twilight, while the vehicle was making its way back from the position to the camp, at a distance of 150 meters from the position. Fortunately, there were no casualties, and the damage could be repaired.

"Four days ago a Katyusha landed close to our battery, and another one yesterday," says Lieutenant A., the commander of the firing position. The tragic incident in which Maj Ben-Tzion Gwartz (Res) was killed when his vehicle drove over a mine, occurred very close to the regiment's site. "This sector is now much hotter, and one must always be prepared. We brought here healthy soldiers, and that is how we want to bring them back," says the regiment commander.

How do the soldiers react to the situation? "You can be afraid of Katyushas, you can feel despair, you can sit the entire trip and picture the explosive charge to yourself, but that is no help. That is not the way to overcome it," says Captain S., the assistant commanding officer of the regiment. "One must learn to live with it, to live through it, and to go on. After the Katyusha fire I was at the battery that had been under attack; I talked to the men and explained to them that we must be more alert than ever. After all, there is no

doubt that service in Lebanon is a very difficult experience, especially for the young soldiers."

The regiment commander adds: "One of the positive things I can say about Lebanon is that it made the soldiers more mature, more disciplined, and more professional." Both commanding officers praised the troops and noted that their performance in the field was, and still is, a few steps higher in quality than is the case at normal times. Service in Lebanon also gave the troops and officers an opportunity to experience in a very intensive manner the command function.

"Our regiment participated in the Lebanon war in this sector, somewhat north of here. One year ago we spent 6 months here, in the Lebanon Valley. We learned then a wealth of lessons from the operations, which we applied this time around. As a result of the operation in Lebanon we learned a lot about our system--more than we learned since the equipment arrived in the country!" says the regiment commander.

The officers in Major I.'s regiment do guard duty just like the soldiers. That is only one of the factors that contributed to the special relations established there between the troops and their commanding officers. That, in addition to the knowledge that the hoped for evacuation was materializing, helped create a very good general atmosphere. As Roy, one of the soldiers, says: "Our daily schedule is very difficult. We spend long hours in preparedness, watching the skies, tending to the equipment, in addition to night guard duty, but we are all together in this, so it is better to make the best of it, instead of becoming depressed."

We travel back from Jabal Barukh together with several soldiers who had served at the Air Force post. Personal and operational gear was packed and loaded. The signal was given. We come down from the Jabal for the last time.

Gadi served there some 10 months. "I only have 2 more hours of fear," he says, referring to the dangerous road to the border. On this last trip, too, they ride with the finger on the trigger: a deep seated habit. The last ride on Lebanese roads is no less dangerous than any other time. This time, too, one can whistle instead of nursing the fear.

As is only natural, the conversation on the way revolves around the service in Lebanon, and the evacuation. One of the soldiers finds it hard to believe, "Are you sure you brought along the sleeping bags? And the big box?" "Yes, yes, we brought along everything! Nothing of ours was left there!" Gadi answers. In fact, something was left there: the first soldier who had the same job as Gadi on the mountain brought with him a pair of thong sandals. His successors took care to pass "bequeath" them, and the thing became a tradition. Gadi, the last in the chain, decided he did not want to take them home. He left them there--"Let them burn, together with whatever is left of the post..."

On the way, the soldiers identify every curve and every landmark. They remember how, 2 years previously, when the situation in the sector still allowed it, they came for a walk in those woods. And how here, between those

very two houses, a vehicle drove over a mine. They also identify IDF camps along the route and point out the changes brought on by the evacuation.

"The view from the Jabal was wonderful, especially in summer, when the clouds are even more beautiful. But I would rather see it from the Hermon," Gadi concludes.

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ISRAEL

SYRIAN AIR CAPABILITY EXAMINED

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew Jun 85 pp 14-16

[Article by Doron Dan'ai: "Loops in the Lebanese Skies"]

[Text] The Syrian army is currently viewed by Israel as the most threatening to its existence. In past years, too, before the signing of the peace accord with Egypt, it was usually the Syrian army that caused sleepless nights to those in charge of the state's security. The Syrian Air Force is, of course, one of the elements of the front hostile to us. In the following article we will attempt to reveal some of the secrets of the Syrian Air Force with the aid of a recently published book.

"In comparison to the air forces of the Arab countries surrounding Israel or close to it, on the eve of the Lebanon war in 1982," writes the Syrian defense minister, Major General Mustafa Talas in his book describing the Lebanon war from the Syrian viewpoint, "we found that the air forces of those countries had to be left out of the equation. They were absent from the arena, and Syria was left to face the Israeli enemy by itself. When such a comparison is applied to the Israeli and Arab Syrian air forces, the enemy is found clearly superior; our country is doing everything in its power to close this gap and to achieve a balance of forces from the viewpoints of both quality and quantity." The book, to which we will return in the course of the article, was published in 1983 in Damascus, and presents the official Syrian version of the Lebanon war, on the ground and in the air. According to western sources that analyze and study strategies in the Middle East, too, the Syrians are endeavoring to achieve a qualitative and quantitative balance with the Israeli Air Force. Once this balance is achieved, the Syrians believe they will be in a position to compete against the IDF and its far-reaching arm, the Air Force, as equals.

Western publications estimate the size of the Syrian Air Force at about 20 squadrons of fighter planes, consisting of 700 airplanes of the types MIG 15/17, 21, 23, and 25; Sukhoy fighter planes, and Dolphin training jets. Also, the Syrian air force has 300 helicopters, some of them attack helicopters. The Air Force commander is also in charge of the Syrian air defense, which includes some 150 types of missile batteries, the majority of them made in the Soviet Union.

Advertizing Does Not Help In Winning

As we see, the Syrian Air Force is almost entirely based on Soviet aircraft, with the exception of the Dolphin training planes. It is also based, without any doubt, on Soviet strategy, thinking, and warfare concepts. Although the Soviets see to it that everything the Syrians have is always one step inferior to what they themselves have (currently there is talk of MiG 29 and MiG 31 in the Soviet Union, while in Syria the most advanced plane is the MiG 25), the contest between the Israeli Air Force and the Syrian Air Force may be viewed as a contest between western and eastern technology, and between western and eastern strategies.

That is the reason for the great interest evinced in the world for data coming from battle fields in our area. It can be said that the contest between the air forces in the area serves as a real field of experimentation for warfare technologies and concepts. A London military publication stated about the results of the Lebanon war: "As far as air battles are concerned, Israel reiterates its claim to have lost, during the entire war, one Phantom, one Skyhawk, and two helicopters: one attack helicopter and one Cobra. On the other hand, American sources estimate that Israel's losses came to 11 airplanes, of which at least one was an F-16. According to data published by Syria, the Israelis lost some 50 planes in the war. The Syrian defense minister later reduced the estimated Israeli losses to 23 fighter planes and bombers. As for the Syrian air force losses, they were undoubtedly greater; Syria admitted to having lost 60 planes, while Israeli and American sources put the Syrian losses at between 85 and 100 planes."

Israel has publicly reported that the ratio of air losses for the entire war was about 1:30. Moreover, from the viewpoint of dogfight results, the ratio was even more amazing: 80-100 Syrian planes shot down in dogfights, as opposed to 0 on our side. This ratio is without precedent in military history since the invention of the aircraft. What is the reason for it? Technology? Perception? A young pilot, for whom the Lebanon war was his first war, said that as a child he became accustomed to hearing results such as 0:6 in favor of the Air Force in air battles with the Syrians, and thus, at the aviation course and later, during campaign practice in the squadron, he had been expecting at any moment to be taught the "secret trick" or the "secret weapon" responsible for that ratio of losses. After a long time and not without difficulty, he had to accept the fact that there was no such trick or weapon, despite the existence of a genuine technological gap in favor of the Air Force. It was true, and that is even more so at present, that the real qualitative gap concerns people, their perception, and training.

In Praise of the Gazelle Helicopter

A Lebanese journalist wrote in an article about air defense during the campaign for Beirut: "The Israeli aircraft put into action in the battle for Beirut (Kfir, F-15, and F-16) belong to the 1970's and 1980's generation. Their technical specifications represent the technological state-of-the-art achieved by the American aircraft and electronics industry after the 1960's. Thus, those airplanes were capable of: maneuverability, flight at high altitudes, detection of radar stations, and deflecting the guidance and

homing-in capability of ground-to-air missiles. In contrast, the majority of the air defense means available in the Lebanese capital belonged to the 1950's generation, and a few to the 1960's."

Dr Mustafa Talas, too, refers in his book to the subject of technological levels: "...And so it became clear to us that, as far as quality was concerned, the Israeli Air Force is a miniaturized copy of the tactical weapons of the United States, and the irrefutable proof of this is the presence of F-15 and F-16 aircraft (which are among the latest models supplied to the U.S. army) in the Israeli Air Force."

One of the quality weapons used by the Syrian Air Force in the Lebanon war was the Gazelle attack helicopters. Dr Talas writes about this in his book: "The Syrian forces used the Gazelle helicopter, which performed very well, despite the difficult battle conditions. The Gazelles performed difficult air sorties-- considering that the Israeli Air Force was in control of the skies-- at most of the stages of the fighting and in many sectors." It is important to note that on several other occasions the Syrian defense minister insolently declares that the Syrian Air Force was in an inferior position. At one point in the book he writes: "... At this stage of the war, the Syrian Air Forces made titanic efforts and fought with superhuman bravery against the enemy on the ground and in the air. It carried out a great number of complex missions amid the most difficult conditions, although the odds were in favor of the enemy. Despite that, our heroic pilots rushed in with unparalleled enthusiasm to stop the treacherous enemy who was surrounding our forces in Lebanon."

How the Missiles Were Destroyed

Dr Talas wrote his book with the help of several senior officers, including the commander of the Syrian Air Force, General Subhi Haddad. Haddad, about 53 years old, was appointed to his position in 1978. Like many other top military men, he is a member of the Ba'th Party and has connections among the leading government circles. His predecessor was a politician, and it was generally expected that once a pilot was appointed to command the corps, there would be a revolution in the Air Force. Haddad indeed changed a few marginal things, but that was all. There were rumors that his health was not good, so that many high ranking officers were eyeing his seat. One of those is Ali Malhafji, about 45, Haddad's deputy. Malhafji, who is considered to be an excellent pilot, is involved in all operational decisions, and many Syrian pilots see him as a model leader and commander. Like Haddad, Malhafji, too, is a member of the Ba'th Party. Another of the deputies of the Syrian Air Force commander is General Ali Salah, who is Haddad's deputy for air defense. Salah enjoys solid political backing, and it is yet not clear how the destruction of the missiles in the Lebanon war has affected his standing.

The destruction of the Syrian missiles in the war raises many serious questions about the Soviet doctrine, which favors defense through ground-to-air missiles. That was the reason that already during the fighting, pressure was brought to bear on Israel from many quarters to reveal its success story. The Americans had been hurt by this weapon in the Vietnam war and lost many airplanes to it, and the Yom Kippur war only exacerbated the problem, so that

this was the first time that an answer seemed to have been found as to how to overcome the missiles.

About the missile defeat, the Syrian defense minister writes: "On the 9th of June between 1350-1400, the Syrian radar stations spotted many formations of enemy aircraft concentrated in the area between Tyre, up to Beirut and south of Tripoli, as well as several other formations that stayed west, over the sea. At the same time, the enemy blocked, by various means, all the detection, warning, and control devices of the Syrian air defense system. The electronic equipment was operated from Boeing 707 planes, in conjunction with ground stations located in various positions, particularly on the Hermon mountain. Hawkeye early warning planes came out on surveillance and guidance missions, while Skyhawk planes mounted an active and passive blockade. Pilotless aircraft participated in the deceptive maneuvers, the blockade, and the conveyance of information to the command centers, and drew the first burst of anti-aircraft missiles. Toward 1400, 20-24 Phantom planes, flying at high altitude (over 35 km) launched air-to-surface missiles of various types (Maverick, Standard Arm, Shrike). Simultaneously, massive long-range artillery fire and surface-to-surface missiles of the type Ze'ev were directed at the missile batteries in the al-Biq'a; their main target was the radar stations and the fire command centers of the batteries.

"A Glorious Chapter in our History..."

"Some 15 minutes after that, the main strike force entered this missile-defended area of the Biqa', made up of 40 fighter-bomber planes--Phantoms, Skyhawks, and Kfirs. Television-guided bombs, anti-artillery penetration bombs of various sizes, and cluster bombs were dropped on the launching pads, command centers, and troops. The attack continued until 1435."

Dr Talas tells about two other attack waves, which lasted until the evening of the same day, and admits that the batteries were totally put out of operation:

"After the second attack and until the evening, the enemy Air Force continued its actions, enjoying freedom of operation, once the missile threat was removed." This admission of the defeat of the missiles does not prevent him from claiming, two pages later, that the attack on the missiles was repelled with the aid of the Syrian Air Force.

deployment over Lebanon's skies, the missile batteries were given the order to fire freely. Five enemy planes were thus shot down. But when the batteries reported their difficulties engaging the enemy in the air--after its attack on their fire command centers and because of the intensive interference operated against them--fighter planes were immediately ordered up at great frequency, both from the air patrol area and from the ground. Planes were rapidly taking off from various airfields. And thus, fighter airplanes from various locations converged on the area of the Biqa' opening. An extensive air battle took place there between modern aircraft. Many enemy planes were downed in the battle. Our airplanes did not allow the enemy to operate freely over our forces, despite the superiority it secured after its attack on the missiles and the interference with the active electronics. In less than 1 hour, 70 Syrian fighter planes had been sent up to repel the massive enemy attack in the area

defended by the missiles in the Bika'. They fought against more than 90 enemy fighter-bomber planes, until it seemed that the Bika' skies were crawling with planes, ours and theirs. That was a gigantic battle, in which the heroic Syrian pilots marked a glorious chapter in the history of defending their nation and repelling the treacherous enemy."

What was the reason for the publication of this self-serving book of the top Syrian military leadership? It is important to remember and to note that the accuracy of the book is doubtful, for a number of reasons: A. The paucity of exact and objective reporting on the war. The reports bear no resemblance to data published in military publications elsewhere in the world. Moreover, most of the information on the Lebanon war comes from Israel, and only some from American and Arab sources. B. The Lebanon war is not yet finished, which means that none of the sides should be interested in publishing its lessons.

If we take into account the efficiency of the Syrian censorship, every crumb of information released to foreign sources has been examined and checked under the magnifying glass. We can thus conclude that the objective for the publication of the book was to glorify the greatness of the army and air force in the eyes of the Syrian people--and in Syria, a strong army means a strong president!--and to blunt and efface the heavy defeat suffered by the Syrian Air Force in all its components.

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ISRAEL

AIR FORCE ROLE IN LEBANON WAR ASSESSED

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew Jun 85 pp 4-7, 58

[Article by Yaqir Elqariv: "The Main Achievement of 3 Years of War in Lebanon"]

[Text] On Friday, 4 June 1982, at 7 in the morning, radio broadcasts in Israel carried the first report on the attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador in London, Shelomo Argov. The Israeli government viewed this attempt as a serious violation of the ceasefire of the summer 1981. The very same day, at noon, began the air campaign of Operation Peace for Galilee, which continued for 12 days and in which the Air Force accomplished some feats that to this day appear as "unreal."

However, Operation Peace for Galilee itself did not end after 12 days. It expanded, continued, and became a war--the Lebanon war. For the Air Force the Lebanon war was entirely different from Operation Peace for Galilee. It was not a results-filled blitz operation, but a war of nerves against terrorists melting against the ground relief.

This war illustrated, among other things, the capabilities of helicopters: attack helicopters, surveillance helicopters, and, of course, rescue helicopters. And thus, despite relative obstacles, the Lebanon war played, to use a descriptive expression, on all the strings of the Air Force. Unprecedented results were recorded in almost every area, beginning with dogfights, through support for the ground troops, and down to the actions of attack and rescue, anti-aircraft and control helicopters.

In summing up the Lebanon war, one of the problems is that each Air Force action falls under a different category. The action of the Air Force changed very rapidly in this war, in accordance with the changes in the goals of the war. In the first 2 weeks, between 4 and 16 June 1982, the Air Force was engaged in pure warfare. During those days, 19 ground-to-air missile batteries were destroyed in the al-Biqa', some 90 Syrian planes were downed in dogfights over Lebanon, and dozens of arms depots, terrorist concentrations, anti-aircraft positions, and field commands surrounded by tanks were bombed.

Among all those, the Air Force views its support to the ground forces as its major accomplishment. Although each bombardment and the destruction of each

terrorist camp is considered, in the last analysis, as support to the ground forces, during the first 12 days several bombing sorties were expressly aimed at freeing movement axes for the ground troops advancing toward the north. The first such action took place on 6 June, when dozens of terrorist bases in South Lebanon were bombed in order to facilitate troop movement. The same day, toward noon, armored and infantry troops cut their way northward under massive cover of planes flying at a great altitude and of attack helicopters within "eye contact" distance.

It was at this point that Operation Peace for Galilee can be said to have officially begun. From then on the Air Force concentrated on bombing the Tyre and Sidon areas, parallel to the axis of the advancing forces. At that stage, the bombing criteria were dual: bombing ammunition depots, and softening up and preparing the ground for the infantry. Reservists, who were "dying to fly," were gathering, not yet sure whether "that is it" already, or not.

On Sunday, 6 June 1982, began one of the most dramatic battles of Operation Peace for Galilee, the battle for Beaufort castle. Scores of terrorists were hidden in the nooks and crannies of the Beaufort. Before the battle, the Air Force mounted a massive bombing attack that shaved the top of the mountain. One can still see on top of the Beaufort the white scars left by the bombing. After the battle, even before the fire died down, Bell-212 helicopters landed on the fortification and evacuated the wounded to hospitals in the north.

Operations at Head-Spinning Pace

From then on events followed at a head-spinning pace. Even the most optimistic among the Air Force men did not imagine then what rich harvest the coming week was to yield. A hint of it was received on 7 June at noon, when the first MiG fell. On Tuesday, 8 June, two more Syrian planes were downed early in the morning, and another one at noon. The tension among the flight squadrons reached a peak; the young pilots and veteran reservists were rebelling: "When is it our turn?" The very same day, three other MiGs fell in dogfights north of Beirut.

The next day, Wednesday, 9 June, occurred the drama with capital D of the entire war. The Air Force leveled, in one brilliant, surprise lightening hit, all the ground-to-air missile batteries of the Syrians in the Lebanon Valley. During this period, the Air Force wielded some of the most sophisticated means of warfare.

A Mass Dogfight

Some people later claimed that too much firepower was brought to bear on a relatively limited target. In the meantime, while the Air Force planes were destroying the missile batteries, flying low and using improved Shrike missiles, a mass dogfight was developing at greater altitude, the likes of which had not been seen in the northern skies even in the Yom Kippur war. MiG 21 and 23 planes, and F-15 and F-16 planes intermingled to the point of becoming indistinguishable. It emerged, however, that the Air Force pilots could distinguish very well. The results of that battle were 0:29.

A minor drama was taking place on the ground at the same time. Anti-aircraft troops found themselves annexed to the ground troops that were breaking through to the north. The guns that were meant to point skyward were all of a sudden left idle, and were then pointed forward to mark the direction. The murderous fire rate of the Vulcans proved itself in the Operation Peace for Galilee, and turned out to be exactly what the ground forces needed. Some of the anti-aircraft troops thus became temporary infantry men.

The day after the attack on the missiles, 10 June 1982, the Air Force did not rest on its laurels. Not less than 25 MiGs, 3 Gazelles, and an unspecified number of additional missile batteries, which the Syrians had brought into the al-Biqa', were destroyed.

The actions of the Yas'ur [puffin] squadron also reached a climax that day.

From the beginning of the war, the heavy Yas'ur helicopters bore the burden of supplying equipment, landed in battle areas, and crossed lines without respite, flying over enemy anti-aircraft positions and making most difficult landings. They also evacuated wounded and flew them to hospitals in the north.

The End of the Campaign

At noon on Friday, the 11 June 1982, the first of many ceasefires came into force; until that hour, a fierce armor battle had been raging between the Syrians and our troops, which had broken through to the Beirut--Damascus road. Nor had the Air Force rested that morning--18 MiGs were downed.

On Saturday the 12th the ceasefire was violated. Another ceasefire was decreed, and it, too, was grossly violated. The Air Force bombed the northern suburbs of Beirut, which served as a "funnel" for the terrorists who were going north. On the 16th of June the Air Force continued bombing terrorist targets in the south-west area of Beirut; the terrorists laid waste the paths of their withdrawal and as part of the siege to which the IDF subjected the encircled city. Similarly, the Air Force laid a new airstrip close to al-Nabatiyah, from which transport planes began to take off laden with equipment and ammunition.

On Wednesday, 16 June 1982, things began to calm down in Lebanon. The bombings stopped, and the stage was taken by the transport planes, helicopters, and light aircraft. In the Air Force command and squadrons people got busy attributing hits and assessing the situation. At this stage it emerged that the Air Force had downed 80 fighter planes of the MiG 23 and 21 and Sukhoi types, and 5 attack helicopters, and itself lost 2 Bell-212 helicopters, 1 Cobra helicopter, and 1 Skyhawk aircraft to anti-aircraft gun fire.

The 16th of June marked the end of Operation Peace for Galilee and the beginning of the Lebanon war.

For the Air Force, the Lebanon war was not a war of attrition in its conventional sense. Senior officers stress that according to the definition, in a war of attrition the initiative is entirely on the side of the enemy, who wields the weapon of surprise. In the Lebanon war, however, the initiative was

all ours, and when an air strike was called for, we were in a position to choose among several alternatives.

From a wider perspective, the sophisticated technology used in the campaign arouses amazement as to the success formula employed in the attack. Still during the war, Major M., one of the interception pilots, summed it up: "The performance of the technological systems was very high, concerning both missile attack and intercept encounters. However, no matter how sophisticated, technology alone, without many flight hours, practice, and training, does not suffice." There is nothing to add to that.

From Phantoms to RPV's

The Phantom (we almost said the "elderly" Phantom...) has once again proven itself. On the day the Syrian ground-to-air missiles were attacked, a Phantom even managed to down an enemy plane in the mass dogfight that developed. Lt. Colonel G., commander of a Phantom squadron which fought in the war, said: "The Phantom is irreplaceable. The Air Force should invest whatever is necessary to ensure that it continues flying for another 20 years. The designers of this planes should be awarded a decoration for having given body to a dream concept. This aircraft is capable of absorbing any technological change currently existing in the world, and can take a huge variety of ammunition. The Phantom also turns the definition of the man in the back seat from "navigator" to "weapon systems operator" or "systems engineer," and invests him with increasing responsibility for the results of the sortie."

It was on Phantoms that the long-range rockets that destroyed the missile batteries so "cleanly" were mounted. In the book published by the Syrian General Staff under the oversight of Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Talas, the Syrians say that "at 1400 hours, 24 Phantom planes simultaneously fired, from a distance of over 35 km, Maverick and Shrike air-to-ground missiles toward the radar and fire command stations of the missile batteries. This attack silenced the batteries for 15 minutes, during which time 40 Kfir, Skyhawk, and Phantom planes bombed the launching and command bases for 20 minutes."

That is the Syrian version, which earned no reaction whatsoever from the IDF.

Another weapon that was described as "irreplaceable" by its operators was the RPV. There is no end to the praise it earned from everybody who worked with it. The precise information the RPV's conveyed to the rear command stations provided the basis for guiding the movement on the northward axes and on the Beirut--Damascus Highway at a later stage. The RPV passed its first baptism by fire with flying colors.

In their book, the Syrians claim that many Israeli RPV's were sent over the missiles to draw their fire and to convey photographic data to the south. The contribution of the drones in conveying exact estimates of the missile batteries position was clearly instrumental.

Almost a Surfeit of Air Support

As for the intercept aircraft, the F-15 and F-16 planes reaped great successes in the war. The many exercises carried out by the intercept squadrons long before the outbreak of the war bore fruit. The limited scope and precise action required from these planes only made their work easier. Commanders of the F-15 and F-16 squadrons harbored fears of field damage to the training of the young generation. In its first days, Operation Peace for Galilee was not a war. Young pilots on their first exposure to fire might have been led to think that it was that easy, and been unpleasantly surprised once they were in the war. Another problem, stemming from the differentiated objectives of the ground forces, due to which there was almost a surfeit of air support, concerned the expectations of the ground troops, which in a future war may be extremely high.

General I., a senior Air Force commanding officer, said at the end of Operation Peace for Galilee: "These expectations of the ground forces may not be fully met. Planes may not always be able to do the job ahead of the ground troops."

As we said, after 16 June 1982, when the Air Force men began to feel that the days of real fighting were already behind them, it became clear that in the near future the arena would belong almost exclusively to the helicopters. Even so, no one imagined how long the "near future" was going to be, and how much work the helicopters would have to do during those days.

Attack Helicopters on Mission

The Cobra and Defender attack helicopters first operated TOW missiles on the battle field. Those missiles destroyed dozens of Syrian tanks. The fire power against the Syrian armored vehicles was generally low, but the percentage of hits scored was high. Aside from tanks, they also destroyed dozens of houses, cars, radar stations, etc.

In the western sector, the attack helicopters fired various kinds of ammunition on terrorist targets moving along the coastal road. In Operation Peace for Galilee the attack helicopters were pitted against well defined targets. On Saturday, 5 June, dozens of attack helicopters circled in the skies of Lebanon with one purpose: to strike down every source of anti-aircraft gun fire. The same night, the Cobra squadron lost one helicopter, shot down by terrorists with 23 mm anti-aircraft guns. The pilots were taken prisoners and were later apparently murdered.

From the viewpoint of the history of fighter aviation, the attack helicopters made the greatest contribution. Thus, for the first time, attack helicopters fulfilled--entirely, not partially--their mission and fought against attacking armored forces.

The Vietnam war was not a very good example for this kind of warfare because of the entirely different warfare philosophy employed.

Bell-212 Bore the Burden

One of the traditional dilemmas of the world of fighter aviation, stemming from the introduction of attack helicopters into the arena, was also solved during the Lebanon war. The question, what is the most dangerous foe of a attack helicopter, an enemy attack helicopter or armored vehicle fire, is today answered by an experienced man, Lieutenant Colonel I.: "The tank is still our worst enemy. But the tank is preceded by the "unknown," which is always a terrible foe. After the tank comes the other side's attack helicopter."

Commanders of attack helicopter squadrons qualify their statements by saying that Lebanon was not a classical battle field for attack helicopters. Such helicopters were designed to repel great masses of attacking armored vehicles. In this war, they had to look for columns or isolated tanks to destroy.

Squadron commanders also expressed dissatisfaction with the work distribution between the Israeli armored troops and attack helicopters. The armored corps is still preferred for blocking-type fighting, and the attack helicopters certainly did not "make its reputation overnight" in the Lebanon war.

The Bell-212 helicopters, which did most of the evacuation and rescue work, drew the harshest criticism from their own pilots. Time is apparently having its effect on the Bell-212's, which were acquired by the Air Force in 1975, while the model itself is 14 years old (it was introduced in 1971). The machines showed a certain amount of tiredness during the war. The Bell-212 is a two-engine helicopter, but even so, one must remember that it had to carry dozens of people, most of them wounded, and large quantities of medical equipment. Many pilots complained about poor maneuverability and general "sluggishness." Now the Bell-212 people are casting their eyes at the Sikorsky Black Hawk.

Among all Air Force units, the Bell-212 helicopters had the most exhausting time in the Lebanon fighting. A Bell-212 squadron commander, Lieutenant Colonel D., says: "Evacuation of the wounded in this war exceeded all reasonable expectations. The "green" can fight without worry. Our guideline was helping the ground forces, but the war itself did not allow for following guidelines. It required quick solutions to ever emerging problems. The SA-7 missiles, which before the war had been a big and frightening unknown factor for us, sprang no surprises."

Improvised Fields

The new Air Force bases in the south, Ramon, 'Ovda, and Nevatim, were first used in the Lebanon war, Ramon and 'Ovda in the first 2 weeks of Operation Peace for Galilee, and Nevatim later, when planes took off from there to bomb terrorist bases in Lebanon. The operation of the new bases encountered objective difficulties, stemming from the fact that they were put into operation very soon after their opening.

All the planes of the southern bases flew, bombed, cruised, patrolled, and returned to land--depending on the quantity of fuel left in their tanks--at

their base or at northern base in order to refuel before returning to the south. The southern bases were put into operation in the first days of the fighting at only partial capacity, which nevertheless sufficed to fulfill the sorties quota. The base people were surprised to find how easy to operate their new equipment was, and how efficient and clever the American building system had been.

The Air Force built a few improvised airfields during the war in order to meet logistical and operational requirements raised by the stay in Lebanon. In charge of these airfields were senior commanding officers experienced in emergency landings. The "Aden" airfield was built at Mizra'at al-Ba'al, "Damur" at Damur, on the coast, and "Hiram," of course, which became the airfield for Beirut. In addition to those, which were the major ones, provisional airstrips were laid here and there for the purpose of refueling helicopters and for stopovers.

The Air Force helicopters landed at all the permanent landing pads at hospitals in the north and center of the country. In the first days of the fighting helicopters were landing at hospitals repeatedly and without pause. All the wounded of the Lebanon war were flown to hospitals in helicopters, except for two or three who were driven. We are talking about thousands of wounded, hundreds of them in critical condition, whose lives were probably saved by the fact that they could be flown to hospitals, in helicopters landing on improvised landing pads.

The doubts that affected the Israeli nation concerning the Lebanon war did not spare the Air Force men either. However, when asked about the extent of the impact of those doubts on the performance of their men, base and squadron commanders unequivocally stated that despite the questioning, wondering, and doubts, there was no fear of falling performance.

From a factual viewpoint, it is true that it is still early to draw final military conclusions from the entire Lebanon war. Equally true is that this time, the military area is not the most pressing one for learning lessons. Because, in the Lebanon war, as in any war, subjects far larger and more important than warfare concepts were put to the test.

[Box on page 7]

An Operations Officer: The Practical Experience Verified the Concepts

[Question] What is the situation of the Air Force now, after the Lebanon war?

[Answer] The Air Force is today in exactly the same situation as it was before the Lebanon war, but facing a far more sophisticated enemy. The Syrians indeed suffered a serious trauma from the capability we showed in the war. After all, someone losing 85 planes and 19 missile batteries cannot ignore us. We, too, learned a great deal about the Syrians during the war and after it. But precisely because of the great sophistication that characterized it, this war pushed us, and in fact the whole area, into a faster arms race. The question is whether we will have enough financial backing for this arms race. The Air Force now knows, as it has always known, what it wants and what it needs. The

difficult question is "where does the money come from?"

[Question] If so, why did the Air Force elect to use the tactics that it did at the beginning of the war?

[Answer] When the prime minister at the time, Menahem Begin, first announced Israel's intention to go to war against the terrorists, our air photographs showed several missile batteries in the Lebanon Valley. About 1 year later, when we actually attacked, we destroyed 19 batteries. There was no alternative to the action we chose in order to destroy the batteries.

[Question] After the destruction of the batteries, an air force group captain said: "This time the plane winged the missile." Has this conclusion been officially adopted by the Air Force? Have warfare concepts been changed in the wake of this new perception?

[Answer] Since 1973 the Air Force has invested large resources and efforts into solving the missile problem. Our concept was already crystallized before the outbreak of the Lebanon war, and we already believed we had the solution. However, as in any other area in life, in this case, too, there is nothing better than experience. This operational experience clearly verified our concept. Now the Syrians will do what we did in 1973, namely, draw their conclusions. So now we must go one step beyond their conclusions on the missile attack in the area of means of warfare, tactics, and so forth. For the time being the plane has the advantage over the missile--and this fact was taken into consideration in the development of warfare concepts.

[Question] Another point connected to the high technology employed in Operation Peace for Galilee concerns the achievements of the Air Force and air battles. To what an extent does the Air Force owe the impressive and unprecedented results of its air battles to the technological gap between the F-16 and F-15 planes, and the MiG 21 and 23, which are about one generation behind them?

[Answer] Even when we and the Syrians both used aircraft of the same generation in the Yom Kippur war--the MiG 21 and the Mirage--the results were not much different. There is no doubt that the sophisticated aircraft we have permit better results, but one must remember that sophisticated airplanes require sophisticated pilots. Even without the technological gap in our favor, we would have shown good results in dogfights and in general.

[Question] Will the Lavi be affected by the lessons of the war?

[Answer] Yes. It is difficult at the moment to say what will be changed and how. The plans are still flexible.

[Question] To conclude this topic, has the deterrent power of the Air Force increased or decreased in the wake of the Lebanon war?

[Answer] A deterrent power is a combination of two factors: military capability and political capability. Political capability, too, is an important ingredient of the overall results. The deterrent power of the Air Force has not suffered in the wake of the war, not by any means. No country

downs 85 planes and destroys 19 missile batteries, and sees the deterrent power of the corps that did it diminish. During the 3 years of the war the Air Force showed no weakness in any air scenario. On the contrary. Even after the operation, in the more diffuse war, our hits against bases were precise and general performance was at a high level.

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ISRAEL

MOONLIGHTING APPROVED FOR NCO'S IN NORTH

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by Hirsh Goodman]

[Text]

OC Northern Command Aluf Ori Orr is to allow senior non-commissioned officers serving in his command to take part-time civilian jobs.

Orr said he took the unprecedented decision because NCOs with 15 or more years' service were earning less than the minimum wage. He said he could not expect the heads of large families to continue doing vital jobs in the defence forces on salaries of around IS400,000 per month. The alternatives were allowing them to "moonlight" legally or seeing them leave the service, he said.

Orr explained that he was not granting blanket approval for outside work, but was going to consider each case individually. Approval will be granted, he said, mainly to men serving in specialized fields in the service branches of the command, and not to men serving with fighting units. Approval will be granted only where it is thought that the outside work will not interfere with the NCO's military duties.

Orr was not perturbed about the dangers of setting a precedent. He was not establishing new norms, he explained, but simply showing sensitivity to problems in his command.

Several of Orr's colleagues in the General Staff, however, warned that

Orr could be opening a "Pandora's box" that could affect the entire army. But they agreed that salaries in the armed forces, particularly for veteran senior NCOs, were low. They said that Orr's decision could provide an interim solution that would prevent an exodus of senior qualified service personnel.

A senior source in the defence establishment last night said: "It is a sad commentary on the times we live in when men in uniform have to hunt for extra jobs at night to make ends meet. Today it is service NCOs, tomorrow it will be fighter pilots who, by the way, don't earn much more."

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ISRAEL

FARM DELEGATION VISIT TO CHINA

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Macabee Dean]

[Text] TEL AVIV. - A delegation of Israeli agricultural experts returned several days ago from a study tour of China, it is learned. The Israelis travelled on Israeli passports.

The delegation was invited to investigate the possibilities of establishing regional agricultural centres which would disseminate knowhow and serve as distribution points for fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation equipment.

However, the Israelis learned that the Chinese were also interested in foreign financing, something the

Israelis were not ready to discuss, since such an investment would begin to repay itself only in 10-15 years, after it had paid for itself. It was felt that the best method, if the plan was to succeed, was for a company or group in a third country, or even the government of another country to provide the capital.

Several other Israeli delegations have visited China during the past year, mainly in the agricultural field. As far as is known, no actual contracts were signed, although the Israelis did get a much better understanding of the conditions of working in China.

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ISRAEL

NEED FOR TAX REFORM

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Nov 85 p 8

[Editorial]

THE relatively high rise in the consumer price index for October – 4.7 per cent, instead of the less than 4 per cent that the Treasury had hoped for – will no doubt be seen by many as an ominous sign that the government's stabilization policy is faltering. With inflation over 4 per cent, a cost-of-living allowance is due next month. It is feared that if prices then rise in turn, a new outbreak of high inflation would be around the corner.

Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi has indeed already proposed a reassessment of the government's policy and earlier implementation of a planned income tax reform. He also suggests that employers' payments to national insurance be reduced to compensate them for the increase in their wage costs resulting from the advanced cost-of-living allowance.

Against the background of last week's cabinet crisis, it will not be surprising if a jittery atmosphere is created by what looks like a setback for the stabilization programme. However, a closer look at the components of the price index shows that its relatively high rise was mainly caused by seasonal factors, nearly all of which were known in advance and expected: an increase in the prices of clothing and footwear at the beginning of the winter season, a rise in the price of housing, and an exceptionally steep increase in the prices of fruits and vegetables.

None of these is indicative of the basic trend of prices, and their effect is likely to disappear. Indeed, the estimate of a 1.5 per cent price rise in the second half of October, published a week ago by the Central Bureau of Statistics, suggests that the effect of the seasonal factor has already petered out. The mild weather that has prevailed into the second half of November, in particular, is likely to bring the prices of fruits and vegetables down sharply.

True, the rise of prices above the 4 per cent mark triggers the payment of a 3.8 per cent cost-of-living allowance a month earlier than the government expected. This, however, is still far from cause to fear a new round of the wage-price spiral.

Manufacturing costs are so far still under no significant pressure, and least so for exporters who are less affected by the high interest rates on commercial credit lines than producers who work for the home market. Even with the cost-of-living

allowance now falling due, real wage costs are still far below their level four months ago, the dollar exchange rate – the second important cost factor – is some 2 per cent below the par set when the recovery programme was launched, and real interest rates have come down and are continuing to fall.

There is, therefore, no cause for nervousness. The economic recovery programme will not stand or fall by the fluctuations in price inflation in a single month. It must be judged over a longer period. Nor does the October index and the resulting 3.8 per cent rise in nominal wages one month ahead of time add force to the arguments for additional budget cuts, whatever their other merits or demerits. The cost-of-living allowance is not going to swamp the markets with a tidal wave of additional consumer demand.

Least of all is there any reason for the government to start subsidising wage costs, through a reduction of the employers' national insurance contributions, as Mr. Ya'acobi has hastened to propose. A tax reform is needed and is on the books, but it would be rash to take it out of the context of the overall budget policy for fiscal 1986.

/13104

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ISRAEL

OIL SHALE PROJECT OPENED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 20 Nov 85 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ilan Chaim]

[Text] MISHOR ROTEM. - Prime Minister Peres yesterday accepted the first barrel of crude oil produced from Negev oil shale at a plant that could be producing 10 per cent of the country's needs within a decade.

Speaking at the dedication of the Pama experimental facility for producing oil from oil shale, Peres said the new technology follows a biblical tradition. "Moses became the first technological innovator when he extracted water from stone. This installation is not that different," he joked.

"Every new industrial plant in the Negev is progress," said Peres, adding that "industry, not just agriculture, is the future of the region." Turning to Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar, the prime minister promised that the new facility would eventually bring "employment as well as energy to the Negev."

Energy Minister Moshe Shahal then announced that the facility would be expanded into a \$17 million plant to generate electricity from oil shale. Shahal said the installation should be generating four megawatts of electricity annually by 1990.

Pama (a Hebrew acronym for energy resources development) is a corporation set up in 1981 to develop the energy potential of Israel's 10 billion tons of oil shale, a chalk-like rock containing petroleum. The oil shale reserves could yield about 500 million tons of oil - enough to meet all oil needs for over 60 years at

present consumption - if an economic method of extraction can be found. Pama's technology is expected to be economical, unless there is a dramatic drop in world oil prices.

Research is being carried out elsewhere in the world, and Nazi Germany produced oil from oil shale during World War II using an earlier form of extraction technology. But, Pama is developing a new technology that is tailor-made for the country's specific type of shale.

Israel's oil shale is soft and crumbly and easier to process than that found in the U.S., whose research developments have been hampered by environmental restrictions. The Pama plant, located in the desert not far from Dimona, is protecting the Negev environment by reburying processed oil shale and purifying the water used in extraction.

The prime minister's barrel represented the total daily output of the Pama facility. But Pama managing director Yosef Yerushalmi said the experimental installation could be turned into an industrial plant producing 20,000 barrels a day within 10 years - 10 per cent of current national consumption. "We're sitting on oil," declared Yerushalmi.

Earlier in the day, Peres and Shahal attended the cornerstone-laying ceremony for another Negev energy site, a field-testing station for solar energy technology at Sde Boker. The 20-dunam site is to serve both as a proving ground for new solar energy products and as a research centre.

"We as a nation squandered money on the stock market, while ignoring our strongest stock -- the Negev," said Peres. He cited the relocation of Israel Defence Forces bases to the Negev, plans for irrigation projects and a railroad to Eilat, and new solar technology as a fulfillment of David Ben-Gurion's vision, saying that pioneering and science will redeem the desert.

"I admit we didn't invent the sun," concluded Peres, "but we are true pioneers in solar energy."

A spokesman for the Egyptian Embassy in Israel told *The Jerusalem Post* at the cornerstone ceremony that Egypt was interested in solar energy and that the question of cooperation in this field would be discussed when the Egyptian petroleum minister arrives in Israel next week.

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ISRAEL

SEVERE RAIN SHORTAGE

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 21 Nov 85 p 2

[Text]

BEIT DAGAN (Itim). - A serious shortage of rainfall has been monitored since the beginning of the season, the meteorological station here announced yesterday.

In most parts of the country less than half of the expected rainfall for this stage of the season has been recorded, and in many large regions the precipitation has only been 20 to 30 per cent of the average. Only in the mountains of Galilee, Samaria, northern Judea and in the Jezreel Valley has the rain amounted to 60 to 70 per cent of normal.

In Tel Aviv, 83 millimetres of rain have fallen, some 40 per cent of the average. In Jerusalem, 49 mm (65 per cent); Beersheba, 1 mm (5 per cent); and Safad, 75 mm (70 per cent).

/13104
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ISRAEL

POSSIBILITY OF WATER RATIONING

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Yitzhak Oked]

[Text] TEL AVIV.—Unless it starts raining within a week, water may be rationed. And there is no rain in sight and the warm weather will continue until at least Monday, the duty weatherman at Beit Dagon meteorological station, Eliahu Ha'elyon, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The first to feel the cuts in the water supply will be the farmers. They use about two-thirds of the 1.5 billion cubic metres of water consumed annually. In the South, farmers are now irrigating their crops as if it were summer.

A number of wells will be shut down, or pumping from them limited, in order to keep them from being overused and going saline, the Mekorot national water company's

board of directors decided yesterday. Among these wells are those at Atara, Phasael and Auja in the Jordan Valley; Beersheba and Amitzur in the South and Ein Kerem, Herodion and Azariya in the Jerusalem area.

If it doesn't start raining by Thursday, Mekorot will decide when to start rationing. There is enough water available now, but there will not be in the summer when farmers depend on irrigation.

The use of water can be compared to a personal bank account, Mekorot spokesman, Mordechai Yacobovitch, said. The country already has an "overdraft" equivalent to about a year's consumption of water. "We need quite a few consecutive rainy years to eliminate the overdraft," he said.

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ISRAEL

POSSIBILITY OF WIND POWER ASSESSED

Tel Aviv ISRAEL ENERGY NEWS in English Autumn 1985 pp 8-11

[Article: "Reaping the Wind"]

[Text] *Wind could prove a significant new energy source for Israel. Current studies aim to find the best sites for turbines and "wind farms" that would sell electricity to the Israel Electric Corporation. Two turbines are now operating, and investors are being sought to speed further development.*

It is a sweltering day in July. As the temperature climbs, air conditioners begin to hum across Israel's central plain. Electric Company engineers watch meters as the nation's electricity demand edges towards peak generating capacity.

Meanwhile, atop a mountain in the Galilee, breezes that have been strengthening all day are now, in mid-afternoon, at their strongest. Above a man-made forest of towers, turbines rotate silently in the invisible stream. In the Electric Company's control room, costly-to-operate gas turbines are turned off. The wind turbines provide enough electricity to keep the country running during the peak demand of a summer afternoon — thereby reducing the need for imported oil and gas.

The wind towers described above are still imaginary, but their potential as an energy source is real, according to Israeli energy planners. The winds swirling across Israel's landscape could power 1,000 megawatts (MW) worth of turbines and other devices, says Dr. Moshe Hirsch, who helped prepare the Ministry of Energy's "Master Plan for Wind Energy". The plan calls for careful study of promising sites, and construction of arrays of wind turbines — called "wind farms" — in areas with the strongest, most consistent winds. Hampered by limited funds, the government

hopes to attract investors to help realize Israel's wind-energy potential.

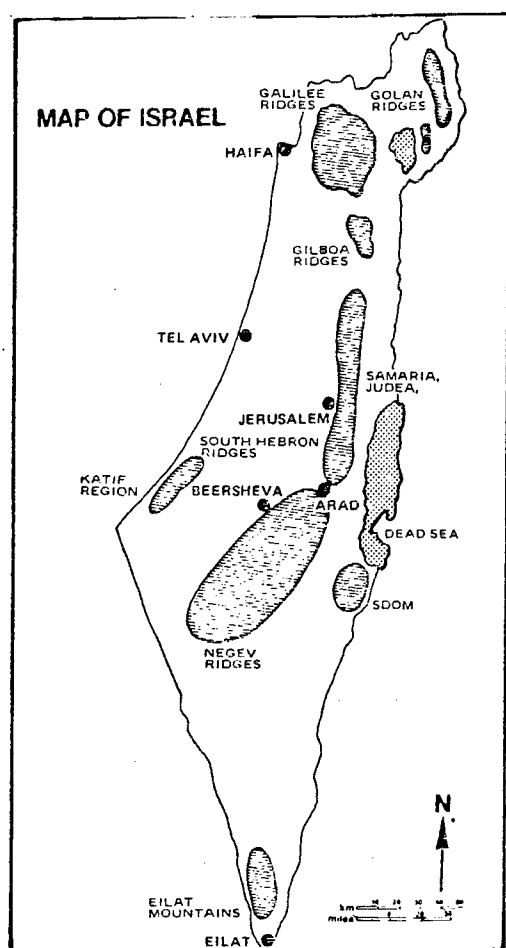
"In wind, we're where California was in 1980," says Hirsch, an engineer and wind-energy consultant in the Energy Ministry. "Today, California already has functioning wind farms because the state government helped things along with tax-shelter legislation. In Israel, though," he concludes, "wind energy development will have to be based on purely economic criteria."

Mapping the Wind

Can wind energy be profitable in Israel? There are good reasons to think that it can. Israel certainly has the right geography. Strong breezes blow in from the ocean and sweep up over the hills and mountains that form the country's rocky spine, from the Golan Heights to the plateaus of the Negev.

Studies by academic researchers and the Energy Ministry have made it possible to chart the country's wind patterns, highlighting areas where winds are consistently strongest: the high ridges of the Galilee, the Golan Heights, the Judean hills, the northern Negev plateau near Arad, and the southern Negev near Eilat. Within these regions, follow-up studies are currently under way to find areas where the wind blows harder than a certain minimum velocity. "At a potential

wind-farm site, the wind speed has to average at least 6 kilometers per second when measured 10 meters above ground," notes Hirsch.



Israel's windiest areas, shaded on map, are under study as potential wind farm sites.

To chart the wind, scientists use instruments installed on specially built towers in remote locations, as well as balloons that can carry radio-transmitting instruments into the upper atmosphere. In many places, the wind apparently strengthens or weakens over the course of a day or a season according to a pattern. "Many winds blow in from the sea, and take a certain amount of time to reach a given point in the interior," explains Hirsch. "On a ridge in the Negev, you often find that the wind picks up at almost exactly the same time every day." Seasonal variations in wind strength may also make wind a more useful energy source. "The wind gets stronger in the summer, when electricity demand peaks," Hirsch says. "In the

transition months [i.e. October-November and March-May, when less artificial heating or cooling is required], the wind is weaker." Moreover, summer winds are strongest in the afternoon, when electricity use is heaviest.

More Wind, Less Oil

Since wind-power peaks often coincide with peak electricity-demand periods, wind could help the Israel Electric Corporation (IEC) supply power during such periods without operating the gas turbines and other reserve generators that it must otherwise use. This could both lower costs and reduce dependence on imported fuels. Connecting wind turbines to the IEC grid – rather than tying them directly to end uses – would help insulate electricity consumers from power fluctuations caused by changes in wind strength. "If there's a little more wind power than usual, the grid soaks it up," Hirsch explains. "A little less, the grid makes up the difference."

The devices that would be used to harness Israel's winds look like airplane propellers mounted on towers. Many types of turbines are currently made; engineers are now assessing which would work best here. "The blades – there can be two or three – are either horizontal or vertical," says Hirsch. "Non-metal blades, which don't interfere with broadcasting, are best." The blades drive turbines which produce 50-100 kilowatts (kW); within 2 years, Hirsch predicts, 200-500-kW turbines will be widely used. Unless a site has especially strong winds, more than one turbine is needed to generate power economically. "In general, a wind farm needs enough turbines to generate about five MW," Hirsch estimates. The turbines are not cheap – about \$1,000 per kW, for large installations – but they have the advantage of being modular: that is, additional capacity can be added one turbine at a time.

Israel could build 500-1,000 MW of installed wind-turbine capacity, Hirsch estimates. "Of course, not all of these would be working at peak capacity all of the time," he adds. "Actual average production would be about 30% of capacity – say, about 300 MW." This would still be enough to generate 2.5 billion kilowatt-hours (kWhr) of electricity annually, about one-fifth of Israel's current annual consumption. This electricity is presently generated from 650,000 tons of oil-equivalent of imported fuel – draining well over \$100 million annually from the nation's foreign-currency reserves. Thus, wind power could reduce imports significantly.

Seeking Investors

But who will build all these turbines? Not the government -- it doesn't have the resources. Instead, the Energy Ministry is trying to act as a catalyst -- finding investors to participate not only in turbine building projects, but in the studies that precede them; and encouraging capable entrepreneurs to organize projects by helping with technical advice and promoting contacts with investors. The Energy Ministry is paying 30% of the costs of current pilot projects; it also pays for certain preliminary studies. The main incentive is the potential profits from sales of electricity to the IEC. Energy Ministry experts are working out the rules under which such wind-derived power will be sold. Prices will vary from 3.8¢ to 12¢ per kWh, depending on voltage, with the average price about 6.5¢. In a good location, Hirsch asserts, a wind farm can pay for itself in five-six years (if the winds are less favorable, about eight years). By comparison, a coal-fired generating plant takes some 15 years to pay for itself; but since wind can't replace more than a fraction of coal-generated electricity, the two cannot really be compared. A fairer standard is solar power, and "wind power may well prove cheaper than solar electricity," Hirsch believes.

So far, only two turbines have actually gone into operation. The first, rated at 45 kW, was built in 1981 at the Iscar Blades factory in Ma'alot; it supplies electricity directly to the plant, which manufactures precision cutting tools. This year, a second wind turbine was dedicated at Tel Katif in the Golan Heights, near Alonei HaBashan. The turbine was built at the initiative of Mei Golan, the local water-supply cooperative; rated at 55 kW, it will sell electricity to the IEC. Other projects are currently in the study and planning stage. One likely site for a wind farm is Yodfat, in the Galilean hills. The IEC plans to erect a 200-kW turbine there; with Energy Ministry support, the IEC is also carrying out preparatory studies for a proposed 20 MW wind farm at Yodfat. Four instrument towers, each 60 m tall, are now gathering wind data, using sophisticated computerized instrumentation. Other potential wind-farm sites now being assessed include the kibbutzim Ma'alei Gilboa and Toval, and the village of Koranit.

The growing technological, governmental, and commercial attention to wind energy almost guarantees that the number of turbines in Israel will increase. Most turbines now being considered are made abroad, but Israeli engineers have designed some innovative turbines and blades of their own; for example, a hori-

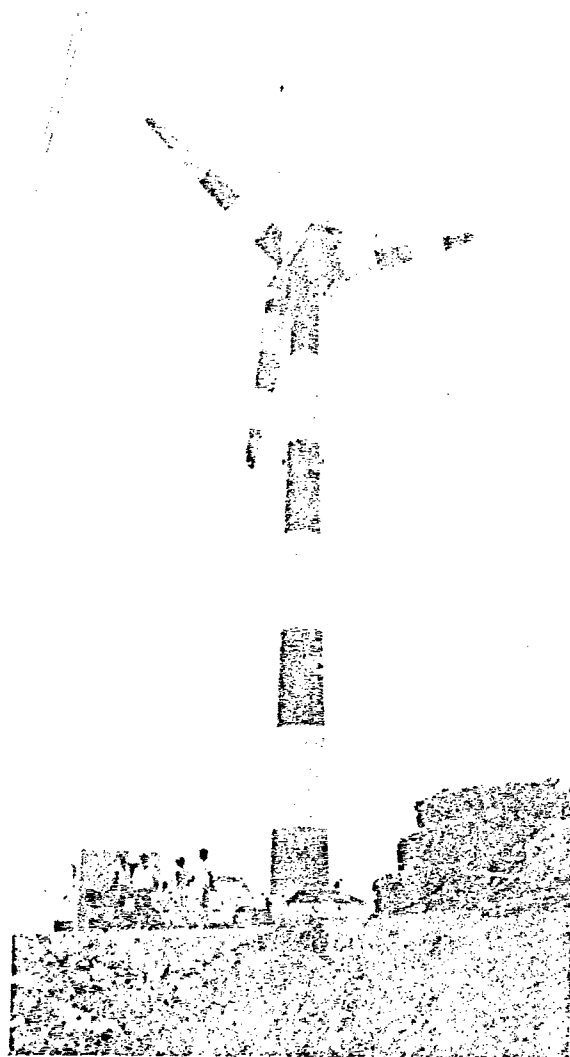
zontally mounted panemone system designed by engineer Bruce Brill of the Siviynius Corporation in Tekoa. A shroud directs air flow to the Savonius open-S rotor. The design lowers costs, Brill claims, because neither the shroud nor the panemone requires expensive three-dimensional contouring. (These and other Israeli wind-energy innovations will be profiled in an upcoming *Israel Energy News* article.)

Who's Involved

Israeli wind R&D goes back to the 1950s, when Professor Frankel of the Technion began surveying Israel's wind patterns. Since then, there have been contributions from nearly all of Israel's research institutions. Leading researchers have included: Professors Saginer, Kagan, Naot, Porch and Dr. Rosen of the Technion; Dr. Yitzchak Marei of the Hebrew University; Dr. Dov Skiban at the Nuclear Research Center in Dimona; Professor Ozer Igra of Ben Gurion University; Alexander Manes of the Meteorological Service; and Dr. Eli Ben Dov of the IEC's R&D department. The Energy Ministry's Wind Energy Information Center, organized by Peretz Tura, began operating in 1981. Currently, researchers at the Meteorological Service, the Israel Institute for Biological Research, the IEC, Maalei Gilboa, and the Hebrew University are pursuing wind-related projects.

The Energy Ministry pays for preliminary studies and subsidizes pilot projects; the IEC, as noted above, is planning a wind farm. Representatives of these and other interested parties coordinate their efforts through a semi-official national steering committee, whose subcommittees oversee meteorological and siting studies, demonstration turbines, sales of wind-powered electricity to the IEC, and R&D.

Given enough wind, technology, and interest in high places, the major stumbling block is funding. The Energy Ministry is courting potential investors for a number of wind projects, and is also working with local companies and organizations that could build and maintain wind farms. They include Upper Galilee Waterworks; groups of settlements in Samaria; and others. Mei Golan, the water cooperative that erected the turbine in Tel Katif, plans a 20-MW, \$20-million wind farm. Paz, a large oil company, and other Israeli energy firms are interested in investing. If the financial winds blow favorably, wind power could play a significant part in Israel's struggle for energy independence.



Israel's newest wind turbine: Tel
Katif, near Alonei HaBashan on the
Golan Heights

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CSO: 4400/54

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

GOLAN WIND TURBINE BEGINS OPERATIONS--The first wind turbine in Israel whose electricity will be sold to the Israel Electric Corporation began operating in July 1985. Located near Moshav Alonei HaBashan on the Golan Heights, the Danish-made turbine consists of a three-blade, fiberglass rotor, 15 meters in diameter, mounted on a 22 meter-high tower. When winds are favorable, the rotor will power a 55-kW generator; when they are weaker, it will operate an 11-kW generator. The turbine should generate about 200,000 kW a year -- enough electricity for 70 homes. Mei Golan, a Golan Heights water cooperative, planned and oversaw the project. Mei Golan will sell electricity to the IEC under new rules formulated by the Energy Ministry. (See "Reaping the Wind" in this issue.) [Text] [Tel Aviv ISRAEL ENERGY NEWS in English Autumn 1985 p 18] /12851

CSO: 4400/54

LEBANON

SHAMS-AL-DIN CRITICAL OF UNIFIL, TRIPARTITE TALKS

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 4-10 Nov 85 pp 18-22

[Article by Nadim Abou-Ghannam]

[Text]



«We are sorry France suggested that UNIFIL deploy in the Jezzine area,» Sheikh Mohammad Mehdi Shamseddin, vice-president of the Shiite Higher Council, told *Monday Morning*. Shamseddin explained at length that such a deployment would be a gift to Israel, because it would be setting up a second security zone, stretching into a no-man's land, followed by the present self-declared security zone on the border strip.

«The duty of the international forces is to help Lebanon, not to provide security guarantees for Israel,» he added.

«The duty of the international forces is to help Lebanon, not to provide security guarantees for Israel,» he added.

Shamseddin was critical of the tripartite talks in Damascus between representatives of the Amal Movement, the Progressive Socialist Party and the Lebanese Forces militias. The negotiators, he said, «certainly represent their militias, but not their community.»

Shamseddin said he would not participate in a national conference, should this be convened, because that would imply an acceptance of the political accord reached by the militias in Damascus.

«We have our project, and our acceptance of any political plan depends on how compatible this is with our own vision,» Shamseddin explained. He added, however, that his refusal to participate in the conference does necessarily mean his rejection of resolutions adopted there. «It would be premature to pass a judgement on a resolution that has yet to be made,» he said.

Following is a translation of the interview, which was conducted in Arabic :

What are the results of your latest visit to Damascus?

This visit was not of a political nature, and we did not meet with any of our brothers in Syria. Hence the visit had no political results, contrary to what some extra-zealous newspapers wrote.

How do you view the tripartite accord reached in Damascus between representatives of the Amal

Movement, the Progressive Socialist Party and the Lebanese Forces?

We have not been informed of the draft accord, and as such cannot have a specific position towards it.

On the other hand, everyone knows that we had announced some months ago our political project for Lebanon, entitled «The democracy of multiplicity based on the principle of consultations.» Our position towards any political program will depend on how much this program is compatible with ours, and if it is not compatible, we cannot possibly approve of it.

Various critics have pointed out that the three negotiating factions in Damascus do not fully represent their communities, and that the Lebanese legal authorities are also not represented in the talks. What is your comment?

There is absolutely no doubt that the leaders of the parties or militias meeting in Damascus do represent their own organizations. As to representing a full community, I think this varies from time to time. Anyway, we have declared in our Ashura speech that we have no representatives or negotiators participating in these talks.

What do you think of the calls for a Syrian troop deployment in all Lebanese regions?

We favor and call for such a deployment because we believe that with the absence of the Syrian initiative, there can be no internal balance in Lebanon, and not even a minimum level of security.

The country cannot get out of its crisis, nor the civil war be ended, without the presence of a powerful force recognized by all factions. This force is the Syrian force, and a Syrian troop deployment wherever necessary to control the situation and guarantee security is a positive matter that will hopefully benefit everyone.

It is said a national conference is now imminent. If it is convened, would you participate in it, or do you think its fate will be similar to the Geneva and Lausanne conferences?

We sometimes hear about such a conference in the media but, as we have pointed out earlier in this interview, we have nothing to do with it. We will not participate in it because that would imply acceptance of the political plan agreed by the tripartite committee, to which we are not a party. Moreover, the participants in the national conference are certainly aware of our political plan, which we will not give up.

Does your refusal to participate in the national conference mean that you will oppose its resolutions?

We cannot pronounce ourselves on the resolutions before these are taken and announced. It would be premature to take a position now. The resolutions are after all the responsibility of their makers first and foremost.

Concerning the second part of your question, I'm not sure I understand what you mean by the comparison with Geneva and Lausanne. The results of this conference will certainly differ from those of the former two, at least on the security level. But as I have just said, I cannot predict what its political implications and results will be.

Iranian Charge d'Affaires Mahmoud Nourani has conducted a series of meetings with the Shiite spiritual and political leaders. Was he trying to reunite the Shiite ranks and avoid internal conflicts?

The Iranian charge d'affaires often meets with us, and this last meeting was no different from the rest. We usually discuss issues of common interests, issues concerning Lebanon, the general Islamic situation, or the regional situation, but we did not discuss the unification of ranks during our last meeting.

Why didn't the spiritual leaders participate in the Damascus talks?

I don't know. Maybe because these talks were restricted to militias and armed groups, and the spiritual leaders do not have militias.

The Islamic Unification Movement, Tawheed, insists on staging demonstrations in Tripoli, something which the coordination committee refuses. How would you comment on this, and do you think the Tripoli ordeal is completely over?

We believe Tawheed has the right to express its political opinion in any pacifist manner that does not threaten to cause a security flare-up. In this sense, Tawheed was right in choosing to stage demonstrations, and I do not know why the coordination committee objects to that.

But I must admit that I am not very well informed about this issue. I am just saying that, in principle, Tawheed has the right to express its political opinion, and has the right to express it in a pacifist way.

Now whether the Tripoli issue is over or not depends on the degree of justice and honesty in dealing with the various factions that are present on the scene and which are Tawheed on the one side, and the other parties on the other side. A return to normality in Tripoli depends on a fair treatment of both factions, plus objectivity and morality in the two factions' dealings with each other.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat last week expressed fears of an imminent military flare-up in the Beirut refugee camps. What can you tell us about this?

security guarantees. In this sense, the French proposal may be interpreted not as offering help to Jezzine, but would constitute a gift to the Israelis, since the suggested deployment in Jezzine would form a security belt favoring Israel, that stretches south into a no-man's-land, followed by Israel's present self-declared security zone on the border strip.

Now we know, and so do all authorities in Lebanon, that Israel has sought since 1982 to establish two security belts, the first on the Litani south of Sidon, and the second which it has already secured.

This is why the Jezzine issue is so important. Jezzine is our city, it is a Lebanese city that is very dear to us. We want the abnormal situation in Jezzine to come to an end.

We have more than one Jezzine in Lebanon. All the South is Jezzine. The mountain is Jezzine. East Beirut is Jezzine, and so is West Beirut. Jezzine is isolated, amputated from the Lebanese body. All regions have been amputated from the

one organism, and we are working with all those who are loyal to this organism to allow Jezzín to regain its natural geographic, human and institutional links with the other limbs of Lebanon.

But we fear that Jezzín will be used as a pretext, an excuse for the establishment of a new security zone for Israel, and indeed, we fear that things will develop into that. The Israelis must withdraw their own troops and the SLA from Jezzín, after which the Lebanese authorities will take care of things there.

We are on the threshold of a new era where the state will have authority, a strong army and security forces, plus what the Syrian initiative will provide.

The Israelis must leave according to Resolutions 508 and 509. They have to respect these resolutions and end their occupation. They have nothing to do in Jezzín.

The French proposal cannot save the South. Would a UNIFIL deployment in Jezzín mean an Israeli pullback to behind the international borders? Would Israel implement the 1949 Armistice, which provides for an Israeli withdrawal 15km behind our borders, or would it simply be handing over the burden that now weighs on the SLA to the international forces, in order to allow this militia to carry out security operations in the middle zone and the border strip?

We are sorry the French made such a proposal, we know what lies behind it and are aware of the Vatican's fears for Jezzín, but we cannot accept obscure measures that go against Lebanon's interests.

Do you think local organizations are behind the kidnapping of foreign diplomats, or are foreign intelligence services making use of the state of anarchy in the country to carry out their own projects? If that is so, why do all kidnappings take place in West Beirut alone?

Everyone knows our position concerning kidnapping, a shameful operation that is incorrect both ethically and politically. It is a practice we have always denounced.

These events do happen in West Beirut, and we will not try to justify their acts, but let us first ask why these things take place. We must find the reasons, local or regional, for such practices. Kidnappings may come as a result of the American or European policy in the region, or the general position concerning the Palestinian issue. Are international intelligence services behind the kidnappings? The situation in Lebanon does provide fertile grounds for such practices, and we all know that there is a wholesale presence of such services in the country.

Your question is a delicate one. Why does kidnapping happen in West Beirut, and not in the Eastern region? The reason may be that, unfortunately, the Eastern region has not yet taken a definitive stand concerning the American or European policies, and concerning the Israeli occupation. In West Beirut, there is a specific ideological stance concerning international and regional policies, hence the atmosphere is favorable for acts of kidnappings, though I would like to reassert once again that we do condemn these practices.

Do you think Lebanon is on the eve of a truce, a lasting peace, or a new round of violence?

I think we will be witnessing a suspension of security escalations that would allow for political exits from the crisis, but not yet solutions, until the final solution to the Lebanese ordeal has matured.

Right now, we have reached neither a solution nor an exit. We are in a state of suspension. But it will not be long before we reach the "exit" stage, which will last a relatively long time, since a final solution requires certain regional and international givens that are not available yet.

And how long will this state last?

I couldn't tell. However, that period would allow the people to resume their normal lives, it will provide for political activity away from armed practices, while the major issues remain suspended until we find exits, and eventually solutions.

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CSO: 4400/59

SYRIA

5-YEAR PLAN SUCCESSFUL DESPITE SETBACKS

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 23 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by T. Mahadi]

[Text]

In an interview with the London-based Arabic daily al-Sharq al-Awsat published recently, Syrian Minister of Planning, Sabah Baqjaji, stressed that both Syrian economy and society are heading for socialism although some hindrances stand in the way of a whole realization of that socialism, due to entrenched social strata. It should be noted that through the activating of the public sector, economy might get a boost and help in attaining the socialist society. That sector has more than 80 percent of the overall output of national production. There is also a commission headed by the Planning Minister which has been entrusted with the task of activating and pinpointing the sphere of work of the private sector, in the hope that proper integration with the public sector be carried out especially in the fields of agriculture and industry.

The private sector has gained a reputation for accomplishing ventures and projects in very short periods of time. All other world private sectors are concerned with making swift revenues and profits. Thus, the Syrian private sector takes on common ventures with the public sector, without giving up its own projects which take less

time to be completely finished. It refrains from taking part in projects which take a long time to be carried out.

The Ministry of Planning aims to prop up the economic and social developments in Syria through the completion or the following political subjects:

- The integration of Arab economy as a necessary step towards realising economic Arab unity.

- The economic liberalization which leads to political freedom.

- Deepening progress and socialist lines through the enlargement of the role played by the public sector to lead the national economy.

- Total liberalization of the public sector to encourage its investments which contribute to raising the country's economic levels.

The Ministry of Planning played a major and effective role in drawing up the fifth-year plan. Before proceeding with the planned projects, the Ministry would look first to securing the necessary materials and equipment needed. The priority of any project depends on its economic value, after a thorough study of the plans presented by various ministries.

The Ministry is also responsible for the fulfilling of

major projects of other ministries, especially those schemes which are financed partially or totally in hard currencies. Therefore, the Ministry has technical and public divisions as well as a directorate for studies, including experts of survey and topography.

Five-year plans in Third World countries sometimes face some kinds of setbacks which make it difficult to score 100 percent success. Natural catastrophes and seasonal setbacks negatively affect and damage the output of production. But the ratio of success for the Syrian five-year plan, according to statistics, reached about 75 percent of the whole and around 60 percent in agriculture and industry.

During the past five years, Syria was seriously affected by dryness of weather and desert encroachment, which consequently harmed agricultural products, and water irrigation. These severe obstacles compelled Syrian officials to seek new water resources and to manipulate extra amounts of water from rivers and artesian wells. Surface dams in the Syrian desert (Hamad) were built to help in irrigation, in the first and second "stability areas".

Agriculture is on the top ladder of priority subjects

which are undertaken by officials. The majority of world nations concern themselves with agriculture and have plans aiming to achieve self-sufficiency in agricultural materials.

Syria is very rich in natural resources which could contribute to making better living for the people if they were properly manipulated. The Ministry of Agriculture aims to use highly advanced methods in agriculture through the use of modern techniques. The Ministry also has embarked on studies and researches which would guarantee agriculture a success. In a very short time, machinery will play a major role in harvesting, reaping and preparing agricultural land for cultivation.

Although some failures were reported in the past five-year plan, a 100 percent success was achieved in certain products. As an example, this complete percentage was fulfilled in the products of potato, onions, grapes and beans. The rate is nearly the same in tomatoes and most vegetables, apples and fruits. A rate of 80 percent in wheat, 53 percent in citrus and around 28 percent in sugar beet were also achieved.

It is expected that total values of agricultural products this year will amount to LS 1433 million or 55 percent of

the five-year plan programme. This means that trade balance will get a boost especially after the acceleration of production and exports.

Production in 1985 is expected to exceed what it was in 1980, in spite of the fact that production rate of the annual five-year plan for 1985 is only 89 percent. As for production requirements, these will reach a rate of 104 percent.

The general frames of industry are as follows: Investments of converting industries for the 1985 reached LS 1305 million.

The centres and companies to benefit from the investments include:

— Al-Furat Tractor Company.

— General Establishment of Textile Industries.

— General Establishment of Chemical Industries.

The investments of the public sector in the 1985 plan amounted to LS 863 million

The sixth five-year plan of 1985-1990 will concentrate on scientific agriculture, agricultural industrialization, the rebuilding of old factories and the making of new industries which have permanent markets in the region. Syria intends to enlarge the natural gas industry at the oilfields, and encourage tourism.

/9274

CSO: 4400/59

SYRIA

EFFORTS TO MECHANIZE AGRICULTURE, MINE SALT SURVEYED

Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 1 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by T. Mahadi]

[Text]

The General Establishment for Mechanized Agriculture in Syria was set up to disseminate the use of machinery in the sowing and the reaping of crops in various parts of the Syrian governorates. The Establishment seeks to multiply its branches in the governorates to extend mechanical facilities such as carrying out maintenance for agricultural machinery, whether they belong to the public or the private sectors. These branches will help farmers in many ways through giving them the latest successful agricultural methods which suit conditions prevailing in a certain governorate. The branches will also carry out agricultural tests which will pave the way for the complete mechanization of the cultivation of crops like Wheat Cotton, sugar beat and grain.

The Deir Zour's branch of the General Establishment for Mechanized Agriculture made two successful tests

on mechanizing two farms planted with sugar beat and cotton. Not far from the city of Dier al-Zour a 159 dunum state farm was established to serve as a testing place for mechanization of crops. The soil of the farm is muddy, saline and lacks nitrogen fertilizer and phosphorus.

Technicians used the Tashkand 3 seed with highly successful results. Automatic sowing was carried out on 186 metres furrows where the distance between the two lines amounted to 90 cm.

The ploughing with a three-blade machine was carried out in January; and late (in March, the land was reploughed in an opposite direction to the furrows), to permit more air and sunlight to reach it before preparing it for agriculture.

Herbicide and fertilizer of 29 kgs per dunum were sprayed as well as 25kg urea with a highly-technized tractor which throws fertilizers in all directions with equal quantities. The

spraying of nitrogen fertilizers has helped in stemming the growth of harmful plants.

The mowing of grass and parcasites from in between the furrows is accomplished automatically where a pure "nutwtion" for the crops is secured. The test was successful and profits were great.

Meanwhile, laboratory tests proved that Syrian table-salt is much better than West German and Lebanese kinds of salt. The West German Company in charge of exploration and extraction of the Tibni mine of Deir Al-Zour governorate said in a report that the rate of Na Cl in the Syrian saltpetre is 99,786 percent, while the Lebanese and W. German table salts have less percentage.

But how is Syrian saltpetre produced? What me the production conditions?

The history of the extraction of Syrian saltpetre could be traced back to 1985 in Tibni where a Russian company took charge of the extraction work. But the amounts of existing saltpetre were not determined at the time. Exploration works resumed in 1961 through 1963, when

large quantitatives of saltpetre were discovered on the two binks of the River Euphrates. One laxer at a depth of 160 metres was unearthed on the right bank of the river, while two more laxers at a depth of 180 metres were discovered on the left bank.

Tests proved that the mine of Tibni on the right bank of the Euphrates mass a high standard saltpetre of economic importance. A Spanish Company was asked, in 1969, to dig mines in the area, where two of them were discovered.

Syrian Arab Workers took charge of these saltpetre mines in 1972 when they were operated and used in full.

Saltpetre passes through a special process in which a number of workers separate harmful materials manually. Although slow in work, because of the lack of modern equipment, Syrian Workers were able to produce the amounts needed by the local market.

Syrian workers were able to produce the amounts needed by the local market.

Workes and technicians are exerting great efforts to extractand grind more saltpetre. Last January, a

total of 6627 tonnes were produced while the annual plan of production expected some 3500 tonnes only.

The high increase of production of saltpetre from the Tibni mines will certainly boost Syrian economy.

Study Surveys made by a West German Company showed that near the mines of Tibni, there are three surface salt marshes:

— The Bawarra salt-march near Deir Al-Zour.

— The Jibsa salt-march about 130 km north of Deir al-Zour.

— Al-Jabboul salt-march.

This year production of saltpetre will exceed 91,000 tonnes or an equivalent of 600 tonnes a mouth. The overworks were made to meet the ready of the local market in order to stop imports which exhaust the country's national economy.

During the past few years, production percentage reached a climax of 82 percent in 1980 against 200 percent expected this year.

Deposits of saltpetre in the Tibni area are very huge, and the geological age of these mines is estimated at 35 million years.

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CSO: 4400/59

SYRIA

BRIEFS

COTTON PRODUCTION INCREASE--Aleppo. (SANA)--Since the beginning of the cotton harvesting season and up to 20 October, the General Establishment for Cotton Ginning and Marketing received 138,000 tonnes of unginned cotton against only 77,000 tonnes of cotton during the same period of last year, the Director of the Cotton Bureau in Aleppo, Dr. Fareed Khouri, said yesterday. Cotton harvesting activities, he added, are still going on by the farmers in collaboration with the central committees of the Bureau and agricultural guidance units in cotton-producing governorates. [Text] [Damascus SYRIA TIMES in English 23 Oct 85 p 3] /9274

CSO: 4400/59

AFGHANISTAN

CITIZENS REPORTEDLY RETURN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF AMNESTY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 26 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Two groups of our compatriots who had left the country and lived a vagabond life abroad due to the poisonous propaganda of the enemies of the revolution, returned home recently, taking the advantage of the general amnesty decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council and message and resolutions of the historic Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) of the DRA.

Masum one of the deceived of a seven-member group who has returned home from Iran told a correspondent of Bakhtar Information Agency: "I was a witness to the fact that all Afghans who live a vagabond life in Iran and intend to return to their homeland are exiled to the ports of Abas, Kerman and Shiraz in order to prevent them from returning home. The border guards on checking their photos were preventing them from return." Describing the deplorable conditions of the Afghan fugitives in Iran he said: "In case an Afghan dies in Iran, his bereaved family has to pay one thousand Tumans (20 thousand Afs.) to the government for a grave. We and all other Afghans faced a lot of difficulties there and the Khomeiny's government was extremely oppressive to the Afghans. All the prisons were full of Afghans, who wished to return home."

Masum, speaking on behalf of his group members said: "In the light of the general amnesty decree of the Revolutionary Council, message and resolutions of the Loya Jirgah, we decided to return to our homeland and I can say with full confidence that right now an influx of our deceived compatriots are trying to return to their homeland."

Likewise, Mohammad Qasim, who is a member of an eleven returnee group in an interview with the reporter of BIA said: "By taking advantage of the general amnesty decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, message and resolution of the Loya Jirgah, our group returned to their homeland. All other deceived compatriots of ours who live a miserable life in Iran are determined to return home as soon as possible and to rescue themselves from the tyranny and oppression.

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CSO: 4600/92

AFGHANISTAN

CLASH BETWEEN IRAN, AFGHAN REFUGEES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 7 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The tryanny and oppression of the reactionary authorities of the ruling regime of Iran over the Afghan fugitives are being intensified day by day.

According to reports reaching here from Iran, severe clashes took place recently between the guards of the reactionary regime of Iran and the Afghan fugitives in Abas port as a result of which two Afghans were killed and six were wounded. During these clashes, one Iranian officer was also killed and three were wounded.

The reports add that the main reason for such clashes is the illegal conduct of the obscurantist Iranian regime which tries to send by force the Afghan fugitives to the war fronts with Iraq. It does not refrain from arresting oppressing and torturing those who do not comply with the wishes of the regime.

Over forty Afghan fugitives have been arrested by the Iranian authorities as a result of the clashes.

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CSO: 4600/92

AFGHANISTAN

FARMERS SAID PROFITING FROM IMPLEMENTED REFORM

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Oct 85 pp 2, 4

[Article by Enayatullah Ramiz: "Peasants Work Hard for Up-Grading the level of Agricultural Output"]

[Text] In the series of interviews with the peasants of the country, a correspondent of Kabul New Times had an interview with Chari, President of Agricultural Cooperatives of Qaran Tughi village of Kaldar district, Balkh province on the formation of peasants' council and its role in upgrading the agricultural production, improvement of livestock, breeding and agricultural cooperatives in the village.

Question: What changes has the April Revolution brought in your life?

Answer: The victory of the April Revolution in our country freed our peasants and all working people from the exploitation, oppression and cruelty of the landlords and exploiters. We became owners of the land. Now, we cultivate the land which has been given to us as a result of the land reforms implemented by the revolutionary government. Presently, we consume the yields which we collect from our land through our hard labour.

Question: After the victory of the April Revolution and receiving the land from the State what measures have you taken to raise the level of agricultural production in your village?

Answer: After the implementation of the democratic land and water reforms we, peasants of Qaran Tughi village, got together to set up a cooperative in order to use the available agricultural implements more effectively.

After the establishment of cooperatives, members of the cooperative elected me as the president of cooperatives in a free and democratic atmosphere.

At the present the cooperative has 231 members. Our cooperative is an agricultural and livestock-breeding one. It has a peasant's council, as well. It has 40 members and holds meetings at least once in a week. In the meetings of the peasant's council, in addition to discussions and consultations about seeking ways for improvement of the agricultural conditions, live-

stock breeding etc., necessary decisions are also taken to meet the demands and requirements of the peasants in our village. Likewise, the question of rendering assistance to peasants in collaboration with the directorate of agricultural cooperatives of Balkh province is also assessed in the meetings.

Question: What assistances were rendered to you by the state during the years after the revolution?

Answer: The state has distributed chemical fertilizers, tractors, small agricultural machinery, sprayers, pesticides and insecticides and credits from the Agricultural Development Bank, to the peasants.

Similarly, the agricultural extension workers always visit our village and give valuable advices to peasants for the betterment of agricultural production.

Likewise, state supplies water to peasants and live-stock breeders. The state has provided us with heavy water pumps, which supply water from Oxus River to our region.

This considerably helps us in raising our production level.

The state also has set up literacy courses in the framework of the cooperatives, which are taught by qualified and experienced teachers of the Literacy Campaign Department. It is planned to set up a kindergarten, hospital, residential buildings, in our village and in near future. Electricity will also be extended.

Question: What are the major agricultural productions in your village and where do you supply your surplus products?

Answer: Cotton and sugarbeet constitute the main agricultural products in our village. Cotton products are sold to Gin and Press of Balkh through the cooperative and in return we obtain oil-cakes for cattle, soap, oil and other requirements of the members of cooperative. Previously, the same cotton was purchased by brokers and local businessmen in the form of grade 2 and 3. Similarly, we send sugarbeet through the directorate of Agricultural cooperatives of Balkh province to Kabul. Recently, 400 tons of sugarbeet were transferred to Kabul and were sold at a cost of Afs 200-300 per 7 kgr. The brokers and businessmen used to buy sugarbeet at a value of Afs 100-120 per 7 kgs which was not in the peasants' interest. Right now, we are not worried about selling of our production because the peasants' cooperative helps us in this regard.

Question: Are there any miscreants in your village and how do you evaluate their actions?

Answer: The miscreants call themselves Muslims, but as a matter of fact, they carry out inhumane and anti-Islamic deeds. They are not Muslim, at all, because they kill innocent children, old people and set on fire mosques, schools, and destroy roads, bridges etc. They plunder public properties. They are actual-

ly sold to dollar, rupees and sterling pounds. They are supplied with American, Chinese, Pakistani and Egyptian made arms and ammunitions to carry out subversive activities in our homeland. They disturb the peaceful life of our compatriots.

Our village is clean from the filthy existence of these sold out servants of reaction and imperialism. We, peasants, have decided to defend the tranquillity and security of our village and will never let anybody to disturb our peaceful life. We are fully united than ever before. We cut off the hand of aggressors from our village through unity.

Question: What is your impression regarding the resolutions and decisions of the Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) and High Jirgah of Frontier tribes?

Answer: In our country the convocations of Jirgahs (assemblies) has a long history. We, always solve our problems through consultations and jirgahs. The convocation of the historic Loya Jirgah (grand national assembly) and the High Jirgah of Frontier Tribes which have been held in a very sensitive period of our history, have the full support of our people. We

fully support the resolutions and decisions of the Jirgahs.

In reality, these resolutions and decisions are a decisive blow to American imperialism and the reactionary forces of the region. We are sure that with the implementation of the resolutions of the High Jirgah of Frontier Tribes our borders will be protected against the intervention of the reactionary forces.

Question: What is your opinion about the elections of the representatives of our people to local Jirgahs, which is going on?

Answer: The elections of the representatives of people to local Jirgahs considered to be one of the most important event in the history of our society and people. The elections of the representatives of people to the local councils in a free and democratic atmosphere are indicative of the fact that from now onward the head of the village, sub-district, district and province will directly be elected by the people. Hence the representatives will be at the service of the people at any time. People of our village are also looking forward eagerly for holding elections in our village.

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CSO: 4600/101

AFGHANISTAN

REFORM SAID IMPROVING AGRICULTURE

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Oct 85 pp 1-2

[Text] During the spring sowing campaign of the current Afghan year 1364 HS (begun March 21, 1985) a total of 13,445 hectares of land in Balkh province have been cultivated with improved barley and wheat in dry and wet farming methods. Meanwhile 17,000 hectares of land belonging to agricultural co-operatives, state farms and lands of individual peasants have been cultivated with cotton. In order to help peasants raise, their yields, 2,632 tons of chemical fertilisers (urea and phosphate), per 17 tons of improved agricultural seeds, pesticides and insecticides at a total value of 3,177,143 Afs have been given to peasants for cash and on loan basis and 17 tons of agricultural cotton seeds were distributed free of charge to the peasants of Balkh province through the Directorate of Agriculture and Land Reforms of Balkh Province.

With the implementation of the second phase of the democratic land reforms and just distribution of water, a total of 2,232 hectares of land belonging to 1,442 landowners have been clarified and documented by the land reforms operative groups, 1,677 official land-ownership documents have been distributed to landless and small-scale landholding peasants and the water quota has been determined for 1,677 peasant families during this period.

Likewise, during the first six months of the current year, another 126 landless peasants became landowners and a total of 236 hectares of land were given to the deserving peasants free of charge.

At present five operative land reforms groups are engaged in this work and so far, the democratic land reform has been accomplished in 28 villages of that province; 34 peasantry councils and 24 peasantry committees for water distribution have been created in Balkh province.

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CSO: 4600/95

AFGHANISTAN

ONYX DEPOSITS SAID TO BE AMONG WORLD'S BEST

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 7 Oct 85 p 4

[Text] Afghanistan is among few Asian countries possessing tremendous reserves of the high quality semi-precious stone, that is to say marble onyx often referred to as aragonite onyx or simply Sang-e-Rukham in Afghanistan. Afghan onyx competes with most of the semi-precious stones in the Orient. There is a wide range of variation of colors in this compact and glossy rock. The rock which may be considered as a monomineal may also occur in fine-banded or white striated alabs. However, the multi-colored variety of the mineral is more predominant. They comprise blood-red, grass-green, blue and multi-colored. In addition to its attractive colors and fine texture, the Afghan onyx possesses most of the desirable properties such as reasonable strength, durability, stratiform etc., which make it most suitable for easy workmanship in jewelry, manufacture of various utensils, tablestones, monuments and a lot of the articles for interior and exterior decorations.

Various chemical tests have shown that the Afghan onyx has sufficient resistance to abrasion and cleaning solutions. It is due to its desirable qualities that the Afghan onyx has attracted a great many local and overseas customers in recent years.

Afghanistan has been producing onyx since the last two decades. Deposits of onyx are located in Helmand Province, South west of the country. The deposits being mostly stratiform occur approximately 200 kilometers south of Lashkargah city.

So far, three huge occurrences of the semi-precious mineral onyx have been located in the region under the names of Malik Dukan, Soldak and Arbu. Preliminary survey of the deposits indicates that among the three-known occurrences Malik Dukan is by far the most promising and of excellent quality. In accordance with the preliminary studies, the reserves of the highest quality onyx only at Malik Dukan is estimated at 120,000 tons. Here onyx forms stratified bodies lying in horizontal beds. The beds are predominantly 500 meters long and 120-250 meters wide and up to five meters thick. Meanwhile, in places where the onyx beds dip to a certain angle, their outcrops have been traced at long distances away from the deposits which may indicate the extensions of the ores deep under the earth. So far, no exploratory and developmental works have been carried out at the onyx deposits

of Helmand Province. It has been estimated that the prospective reserves of the high quality onyx (Sang-e-Rukham) in Helmand Province may exceed a million tons.

Despit the fact that the deposits of onyx are well-stratified and have conspicuous joints which make quarrying easier, so far extraction of the mine has been carried out in a most primitive way and reckless manner. For example, extraction of the mineral has been made more often by blasting which resulted in unimaginable loss and wastage of the precious mineral forming piles of wastes accumulated during the years covering the surface of the valuable mineral, thus making recovery still costly.

Therefore, in order to avoid further wastage of the mineral onyx it is advisable to immediately stop any unscrupulous and reckless quarrying of the mine and replace it by upto-date methods. The damaging effects of the explosives on onyx blocks are to be strictly avoided wherever possible. The usual procedure to be followed are to cut the stone into large desirable blocks with channelling machines or wire saws and to undercut the onyx at floor level and finally to break the blocks free by wedging.

Another advisable and cheaper method is to drill deep holes close together in a straight line with special carbide drill bits and the partitions between the drill-holes are to be removed by broaching tools.

Still another problem to be tackled is the making of a transportation road. (At present there is only a desert road). Since, improved exploitation plus a proper road joining the deposit to the center of the province greatly contribute to boost up the income from the onyx deposit.

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CSO: 4600/95

BANGLADESH

PAPER REPORTS ERSHAD SPEECH ON UN ANNIVERSARY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] UNITED NATIONS (New York) Oct. 19--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad yesterday reiterated Bangladesh's commitment and its rededication to the United Nations for achieving world peace better life and human dignity, reports BSS.

Addressing the commemorative session of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, the President said as the nations around the world step into the next decade in the life of the United Nations, every one should be duly aware that he is entering a new era in the history of mankind.

He said, "We want a better world, secure and peaceful where human life is cherished and nurtured and where we see many more smiles and much more happiness on the faces of the peoples of the world."

The President said since the birth of the UN 40 years ago it had seen great changes which had taken place in the world. He referred to uncertainties prevailing in the world despite momentous strides of mankind and said, "I strongly believe that today we need this organisation perhaps far more than we did in 1945."

President Ershad pointed out that the history of the UN had been marked by successes as well as disappointments, frustration and even by failures in certain areas and said it had been serving the newly independent countries of the Third World all these years as a guarantor of the political independence and sovereign equality of states and the best instrument to promote their economic and social development in a secured environment.

Role of UN lauded

He mentioned the positive role of the United Nations during the independence movement of Bangladesh and afterwards in its rehabilitation and development efforts and said, "We in Bangladesh have paid our highest tribute to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the UN by incorporating them in our constitution."

The President said the United Nations survives on the collective will of member states and the smaller powers of the world have much at stake in seeing that

the world body continues to grow in strength and paves the way for establishment of international code based on peace and justice in which the deepest aspiration of mankind can be fulfilled.

He spoke of the measures undertaken by the UN in political economic, social and cultural fields and said it was because of the United Nations, millions around the world were getting basic education and health facilities.

President Ershad said the UN had seen a remarkable progress in the decolonisation process during the last two and a half decades. He said "even though we are particularly concerned about Palestine and Namibia." He deplored the policy of apartheid still being perpetrated on the people of Africa and said the outrageous situation now prevailing in South Africa had shaken the conscience of the humanity.

In this context, he reiterated Bangladesh's total support for the struggle against all forms of colonialism and racism and reaffirm its support to the principles of self-determination and human rights.

The President referred to his country's genuine support and commitment to the international cooperation and said it had found clear expression through its initiatives for institutional regional cooperation arrangement among the countries of the South Asia, SARC, whose first ever summit would be held in Dhaka on December 7-8 this year.

He said though the United Nations had evolved through 40 years of its existence, we believe that its full potentials are yet to be explored. As responsible members every one should come forward with ideas and suggestions for improving its effectiveness, he said.

Specialised agencies

President Ershad said the office of the Secretary General could be more effectively utilised not only to resolve problems but also to prevent them from happening.

He noted with great satisfaction the remarkable achievements of specialised agencies in various fields, and said one should no longer think of the United Nations family as a system of virtually independent, competing agencies, but as a multi-faceted, integrated whole through which the international community seeks to achieve the purposes so admirably defined in Article 55 of the Charter.

The President said while supporting evaluation of a system of preventive peace keeping, Bangladesh believes that a permanent peace observation machinery would go a long way in providing effective deterrent against aggression.

Earlier on arrival at the UN, the President was greeted among others by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Kampuchea and Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, OIC Secretary, General.

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CSO: 4600/1113

INDIA

WRITER ENUMERATES PROBLEMS IN INDO-PRC RELATIONS

BK081246 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 4 Nov 85 p 9

[S.P. Seth article: "India-China Relations"]

[Text] The recent meeting in New York between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his Chinese counterpart, Mr Zhao Ziyang, could not have been better timed; having taken place just days before the scheduled official-level Sino-Indian border talks in New Delhi, beginning November 4. The two prime ministers are agreed that the border question is "not an insurmountable problem." This should encourage officials on both sides to break the stalemate, and move from procedural to substantive discussion on the border issue. Another encouraging sign is that both Rajiv Gandhi and Zhao Ziyang have agreed that the issue should receive constant attention at the political level, lest it bogs down into bureaucratic hassles. In other words, there is a new recognition of its urgency at the highest political level in both countries.

But the constant Chinese harping that the border question is a legacy of history (meaning thereby that the present Sino-Indian boundary--particularly the McMahon line--was a creation of the British imperialists) does not help matters. This is a Chinese ploy to trivialise the issue. It also seeks to question India's anti-imperialist bona fides by suggesting that it was stubbornly following in the British footsteps. Mr Gandhi, therefore, rightly emphasised that, as far as India was concerned, the border problem was still the key question.

One need not belabour the question of 'historical legacy,' now that the Chinese seem to have accepted the centrality of the border issue between our two countries. They have, however, been successful in persuading New Delhi not to make this (settlement of the border dispute) a precondition to the development of bilateral relations in other areas. This implicit understanding has now been formalised, with both prime ministers having agreed that while efforts to solve the border problem were going on, both New Delhi and Beijing should simultaneously take steps to improve their bilateral relations.

But the fact remains that a sustained improvement in Sino-Indian relations will depend on a meaningful breakthrough on the border question. An advance in this direction was made at an earlier round of border talks when the Chinese side agreed to discuss in future the India-preferred "sector-by-sector"

approach to the border question, without prejudice, however, to its own preference for a comprehensive package deal. The sectoral approach has the merit of removing all the irritants along the entire length of the India-China border, thus leaving no scope for ambiguity which had marked the Nehru-Zhou Enlai talks and correspondence up to 1960.

Beijing's package deal was unveiled, in June 1980, by China's strongman, Mr Deng Xiaoping. In an interview with a visiting Indian journalist, Deng recommended such a deal on the basis of existing lines of control in the disputed eastern and western sectors. Alternatively, he urged that the border problem be put aside as this "should not hinder development of relations between our two nations." It may be recalled that a package offer was also made by Zhou Enlai in 1959 and 1960, except that Deng's proposals require India to also legitimise (over and above the 1959 Chinese control line) the area annexed by China in the western sector during the 1962 border war.

On a surface view, the package offer seems eminently reasonable with implied Chinese 'concessions' on the eastern boundary in return for India's acceptance of the existing reality in the western sector (Aksai Chin area and its periphery through which China had built, in the fifties, its strategic road link between Tibet and Xinjiang). India's then foreign minister, Mr Narasimha Rao, cautiously welcomed Deng's initiative and expressed the Indian Government's satisfaction on the "prospect of the eastern sector (boundary) being settled without any particular difficulty." He, however, rejected "the premise on which it is based, namely, that the Chinese side is making a concession in the eastern sector by giving up territory which they allege is illegally incorporated in India."

New Delhi refrained from outrightly rejecting the Deng proposal, but maintained that there may be ways "other than the package solution" that "could prove more effective." Beijing has since, as noted earlier, agreed to discuss the Indian proposal of a "sector-by-sector" approach towards a solution of the border issue.

The India-China border dispute has long since ceased to be a technical or legal problem. It is a political problem requiring a political solution.

And the Chinese seem to pin their hopes on Rajiv Gandhi who, they feel, is unencumbered by old prejudices and rigidities. This may be so, but so far Rajiv Gandhi has not given any indication that he is ready to take the Chinese bait. Otherwise, he would only too gladly have accepted Premier Zhao Ziyang's invitation for a visit to China. In fact, while welcoming the invitation, he said adequate steps had to be taken to find solution to all outstanding problems between the two countries before such a visit would take place.

The reference to "all outstanding problems" is rather intriguing. What did Rajiv Gandhi mean? One can only surmise that he was referring to the political and strategic matters impinging on India's security. For instance, China is still not reconciled to Sikkim's status as part of the Indian Union. Beijing may not be fuming about it now, but in the absence of a clear understanding it could easily rake up the Sikkim question at an opportune time.

Indeed, China's policy towards Bhutan and Nepal is also a matter of disquiet. After Tibet's incorporation into China, these Himalayan states constitute the only buffer between India and China. And for a lasting relationship between India and China, the latter must appreciate India's ties and strategies compulsions [as published] vis-a-vis these countries. China, on the contrary, continues to encourage Nepal in its pursuit of a 'Zone of Peace' for the Himalayan kingdom.

The Sino-Pakistan equation is also a worrying factor for India, especially when there are all sorts of reports about China's involvement in Pakistan's quest for atomic weapons. This aside, the network of roads and highways linking Pakistan-occupied Kashmir with China's sinking region is not an innocent exercise. They could become a serious threat to India's security by enabling military cooperation or collusion between Pakistan and China.

Indeed, there is need for China to define precisely its attitude to the entire South Asian region, where it continues to show unwholesome interest in matters involving India and her neighbours. Admittedly, China is now cautious, and some time even balanced, in its comments on India's relations with her smaller neighbours. But it does not discourage them from rushing to it for moral and material support whenever there are problems with India.

This raises the question of China's own assessment of India's regional role, or even of its permanence as a nation-state. China now seems to recognise India as a major country in South Asia. But it would like New Delhi to be generous and accommodating towards its smaller neighbours. In other words, Beijing reserves for itself the right to correct regional 'imbalance' if India becomes heavy-handed with its neighbours. China's propensity to act as a 'balancing' factor in the South Asian policy will continue to foul Sino-Indian relations, though this need not become a major irritant as long as Beijing plays a low-key role.

As regards the second question, China probably feels that, in the short to medium period (of, say, five to 10 years), the Indian nation-state is a going concern. Various Chinese commentaries on India highlight its varied economic achievements, even though India still remains a very poor country. But these commentaries also suggest that Beijing has doubts about New Delhi's capacity to handle growing socio-economic and numerous other contradictions that continue to plague India. Because of such doubts, Beijing probably has not worked out a long-term policy framework for India. In the short term, however, China seems keen to improve relations with India. But there is the border problem. A possible solution could be acceptance of the 1959 line of actual control as was once suggested by Zhou Enlai. On the eastern sector, Beijing does not seriously dispute the McMahon line; its claims being largely intended as a bargaining counter. The middle sector is basically undisputed. But a 'sector-by-sector' approach is very important to dispose of the old disputed section here and there.

New Delhi also can afford to show greater flexibility now that the government is not under the kind of internal political pressures which had hamstrung the Nehru Government. Indeed, the lobby which once blasted Nehru for his 'appeasement' policy towards China is now in the forefront for normal relations. This may have something to do with a significant turnabout in America's China policy, but that is another story.

INDIA

AKALI DAL URGED TO SHOW FIRMNESS

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 4 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Prabhash Joshi: "The Sky Will Remain Clouded"]

[Text] Both Congress and Akali leaders claim that the era of politics of confrontation has come to an end and a new era of constructive cooperation to make Punjab a prosperous state has begun. Rajiv Gandhi, the leader of the losing party, has praised the Akali party and promised cooperation in all areas. In response, Chief Minister Barnala announced in his policy statement that he will constructively cooperate with the Central Government and also will try to implement the Punjab Pact. This means that the mental climate that brought about the Punjab Pact will be transferred from party platforms to the government. As long as Barnala is in Chandigarh and Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi, Punjab can be assured of a peaceful rule. Amen! Balwant Singh, the number-two person in the cabinet, has been quoting the international political adage that there are no permanent adversaries in politics with a child's enthusiasm. According to him, permanent bonds are formed only for personal or selfish reasons. As long as Punjab benefits from cooperation with the Central Government, it will cooperate with Delhi. Also, if Akali Dal benefits from cooperating with the Congress Party on the national level, the Akalis will cooperate with it. Balwant Singh talks about this as if this old truism were invented only yesterday. This kind of friendly talk from an Akali leader who had been fighting blindly with the Center and the Congress Party for the last 15 years sounds rather inappropriate. There is no doubt, however, that the Akalis are overwhelmed with this feeling. People who desire prosperity and peace in Punjab and the country would like this feeling to become permanent. Let us not forget the first few months of 1977.

A talk with the Akalis in government will convince you that all this sounds too good to last. According to them Punjab has suffered so much for so long that it has become overcautious. They have great hopes now that this landslide victory of the Akalis has pushed the terrorists into the background. Let us forget the old issue of democracy against terrorism now. We have to recognize such facts as the belief of factionalist Sikhs that Akalis have been voted in because Sikhs identify the Congress Party with the attack on the Golden Temple, and Hindus in small villages decided to go with the Sikhs for their own safety. It is evident, however, that even the factionalist Sikhs do not support the Akalis that are against the Punjab Pact and had boycotted the elections.

The votes, whether of the vengeful Sikhs or the scared Hindus, were cast in support of the Akalis who participated in the Punjab Pact. Vimal Khalsa may have lost only by four or five hundred votes, but she did lose in both constituencies, and both of these are Sikh majority constituencies. The democracy may not have vanquished terrorism, but it has been proved that Punjab's Sikhs prefer the Republic of India over the Khalistan proposed by Jagjit Singh Chauhan and Ganga Singh Dhillon. Instead of fighting the Hindus and the Indian government, they want to cooperate with them for growth and development. They have proved this point by their vote in the recent elections. This should be enough to depress the separatist and terrorist Sikhs at home and abroad. Using this as a springboard we can lay the foundation of development work that can make good the losses suffered during the last 4 years.

We have to credit Sant Langowal and Rajiv Gandhi for neutralizing the influence of terrorists. Sant Langowal visited little villages in Punjab, Delhi and other places to explain to people how this confrontation was leading the Sikh into a blind alley of self-destruction. Rajiv Gandhi had already told Langowal that the time demanded an honorable pact and that the government was open for it. Everyone knew the fact but only Langowal had the courage to say that the Sikhs were ready for peaceful talks and abandon armed confrontation. By cooperating with Langowal, Rajiv Gandhi accelerated the process that made the militant Akalis an anachronism. Even if Sant Langowal had not been assassinated, this process would have forced the terrorists to self-destruct. After the Shergpura Gurdwara incident the only logical culmination for this process was elections. And that is what happened!

Now Sant Langowal is gone and as president of the Congress Party and prime minister of the country, Rajiv Gandhi cannot make decisions for the Akali Dal. The whole responsibility rests on Barnala and Balwant Singh. Only they can neutralize the militant faction. Both Badal and Tohra are familiar with their strengths and weaknesses. We do not know about Tohra, but Badal opposed the Punjab Pact because he was not included in it. Badal suspected since the release of Sant Langowal and Barnala that the government was going to ignore him and recognize Langowal as the leader of the Akalis and offer chief ministership to Barnala. Badal was hurt by this development and instead of trying to understand the situation, began to make incensed statements that put him right alongside the militant faction. Badal would not have run in the elections if he had supported a religious or unionist point of view. Boycotting the elections would have been suicidal for Badal. He ran and won with a comfortable margin, but instead of participating in the government, he is watching from the sidelines on purpose. Tohra is following a different plan. He has been the chairman of Shiromini Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee [Sikh temple management council] for the last 13 or 14 years and has been using the money and religious clout to attain political power. The whole Sikh community knows how he uses granthis [priests] and jathedars [temple managers] for his personal gains. It has been well known politically how millions of rupees from this committee's budget are spent on Akali politics. Tohra, just like Badal, complained that Langowal and Barnala were being primed for important positions while he was being pushed aside. And like Badal, Tohra also misunderstood the situation created by Operation Blue Star and

the November violence and began to speak the militant language. Tohra's position, however, is much more delicate than Badal. Tohra could not afford the dichotomy that went with the militancy and was forced to decide on a position. His politics is based on militancy and ambiguity. He took the only path that was open to an opportunist and is acting like a puppet in the backstage.

It is important for Barnala to continue steering in the direction Rajiv Gandhi and Langowal had taken to push the militants onto the margin. Otherwise Badal and Tohra will return. Tohra has demonstrated his prowess by showing Barnala's weakness and Badal has made the future of the cabinet uncertain by staying out of it along with his followers. Badal's reluctance to accept ministership is understandable since he has been the chief minister for two terms. Badal will allow his followers to participate in the cabinet only when he feels it necessary. Even though Badal has announced that he considers the Barnala government his own and has pledged full cooperation, as long as he is an outsider he will be like a sword hanging over Barnala's head. One thing is clear, Badal may want it or not, as long as he is outside the government, he will be the locus of all unhappy Akalis. It will not be possible to satisfy the 75 Akali legislatures. Barnala has succeeded in adjusting to one defection. What will happen to his government if this situation continues? Tohra will continue playing Barnala's game until November when the elections for the Committee [Temple Management] will be held. He will show his real self when he is elected chairperson again.

Without mentioning any names, Balwant Singh proclaims that his government's greatest weapon for curbing the opponents of the Punjab Pact is the popular support it has. He is right to an extent, but how and when will he use this weapon? Balwant Singh reminds us that his party did not promise a blanket amnesty to all political prisoners and army deserters. Tohra and Badal, however, will insist on such an amnesty openly or behind the scenes. When the Akali government demands amnesty for militants who are accused of treachery and spying, it will not only be confronting an angry Central Government, but will also be pushing the morale of its police and other law enforcement agencies to the rock bottom. The arrival of an Akali government has not obliterated the militant faction. When released, the terrorists will join them. The rumor that the Akali government's reluctance in sending police to Gurudwaras (Sikh temples) will make them (the gurudawaras) shelters of militants as well as smugglers is circulating already. Tohra and Badal will benefit if this rumor remains alive. There are three drawbacks of this. First, the police will not be able to curb the terrorists hiding in the Gurudwaras, thus making the government very weak. Second, the Hindu minority will be scared and disappointed that the Akalis failed in curbing the militants the same as did the Congress Party. Alienating the Hindus of Punjab is as detrimental to peace and unity as is alienating the Sikhs there. Third, the dissatisfied Akali leaders will use the militants against the government the same way as Sant Bhindrewala was used. There is also the fear of a situation where the Sikh Church opposes the Akali Government. Some important Sikh leaders have already begun to say that the Akalis have been given the government so the Sikhs would be divided and start fighting among themselves. This is a sly trick. If people do not vote the Akalis in, it is said that

Sikhs are not allowed to rule Punjab, and if they are voted in to power, the government is blamed for conspiring to have the Sikhs kill each other! In this battle for power, Akali factions outside the government will easily use militants and religious groups as weapons. Both these weapons will cause conflict between Punjab and the nation as well as hinder the Akalis in running a smooth government. If, for the second time, the Akalis fail to establish credibility as rulers, they may never goet another chance. As the result, some people will join the militants or separatists and the others will favor a Congress takeover. This time, however, the people have given more responsibilities and challenges to the Akalis. Cooperation with the Central Government is essential for implementing the Punjab Pact and any mistake on the part of the government can result in strengthening the opposition. Any close relationship between the ruling Akali leaders and Central Government leaders will give an opportunity for the opposition Akali leaders to tarnishthe image of the government. They are keenly looking for such opportunities.

A transition from the traditional politics of confrontation to a constructive cooperation is important for the future of Akali government and the prosperity of Punjab. The Akalis must be firm and resourceful to attain that goal. The Center will help them and the Congress Party will not work against them. No coaching of any kind is enough; the Akalis have to direct themselves out of this dark alley of confrontational politics on their own. The clouds will hover over the future of Akali government unless Badal and Tohra are dealt with on political and religious platforms respectively.

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CSO: 4624/4

CPI-M POLITBURO MEMBER LAUDS GANDHI FOREIGN POLICY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 11 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Arup Kumar Chanda]

[Text]

Calcutta, Oct. 10: The CPI(M) is all praise for the foreign policy pursued by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, during the first ten months of his tenure.

In a signed article in the theoretical journal of the party, *The Marxist*, Mr B.T. Ranadive, the seniormost member of the CPI(M) politburo, has said Mr Gandhi's foreign policy has strengthened the "world forces of peace, democracy and freedom and has alerted the Indian people to be vigilant against imperialist conspiracies against our country."

Only in December, however, Mr Ranadive had expressed apprehensions about India's foreign policy after Mr Gandhi came to power. In the October-December quarterly of the journal, he had said, "There is every danger that concessionist elements from the ruling party will join hands with compromisers from the Opposition parties to give a reactionary turn to our foreign policy."

In the April-June issue, Mr Ranadive has observed that Mr Gandhi's tour abroad had disappointed imperialist circles.

The article says, "He has reasserted the strength of Indo-Soviet friendship and reaffirmed the importance of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. In the USA, he reaffirmed India's adherence to the policy of nonalignment, its stand on Afghanistan and its opposition to Reagan's Star War project. He has also said no to loaded offers of help in arms."

Mr Ranadive has observed that the ten months that have passed since the unprecedented victory of the Congress(I) in the parliamentary polls have "belied foreign expectations of a shift in India's foreign policy." Mr Gandhi's foreign policy constitutes "a positive feature of the post-election months," he adds.

Mr Ranadive feels this reassertion of India's nonalignment, its opposition to imperialist plans of nuclear war and aggression against Third World countries was of great importance. He has pointed out that the success of the Union government in bringing together the Tamil militant groups and the Sri Lanka government for negotiations has helped to stall the "imperialist game of dividing Sri Lanka."

/12379

CSO: 4600/1116

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS GANDHI INTERVIEW WITH BRITISH WEEKLY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Oct 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] LONDON, Oct 10--Mr Rajiv Gandhi has disclosed that he was "not very much" for the imposition of the 1975 Emergency at the beginning and says that it should not have been continued for longer than six months, reports PTI.

"A lot of things" had gone wrong during the Emergency and the Government had lost control of the administration, Mr Gandhi said in an interview to the Spectator weekly published here today.

On his controversial remarks about the Emergency made at a Press conference in New Delhi in June, Mr Gandhi agreed with the interviewer that his point about there being a difference between the proclamation of the Emergency and what happened during it had been lost in the hullabaloo that followed his statement. These were two quite different things, he said.

Mr Gandhi expressed the view that emergency powers must be available because there are situations when some of these are required to be used by the Government.

This, he said, was recognized by the Janata Government which was born out of the Emergency and was very violently against an emergency. "When they amended the Constitution, they left out this bit. They did not remove it," he added.

Asked what had gone wrong during the Emergency imposed in 1975, Mr Gandhi replied: "Basically, I think the Government lost control of the administration, of what the State Governments, of what the other politicians were doing. What it also did was cut off feedback."

Mr Gandhi was asked if he was referring to censorship of the Press in saying that the Emergency had cut off feedback. "Well, yes, censorship. And maybe a certain amount of fear psychosis," he replied.

Questioned if such things might not happen in any emergency, the Prime Minister told the interviewer: "Only if it goes on for an extended period. If it had finished off in a few months, it would have been okay."

When asked if he had been in favour of lifting the Emergency at that time, he replied: "Well, I was not very much for the proclamation of Emergency at the beginning. But there was a very positive fallout in the infrastructure and other sort of development areas in that period."

Asked when he thought the Emergency should have been lifted, the Prime Minister replied: "Six months would have been enough."

About the family planning programme during the Emergency, Mr Gandhi said that it had gone totally out of hand. "But there also I do not know how much of it went out of hand and how much it was believed to have gone out of hand--it is very difficult to draw a line. But the fact is that propaganda-wise, it very definitely went out of hand."

Mr Gandhi said that in his view, the elections of 1977 should have been held on schedule a year earlier. "But if you ask me whether the Congress was going to win or lose, I knew the Congress was going to lose", he told the interviewer.

Mr Gandhi said both he and his brother, Sanjay, had told their mother that the Congress was going to lose. "I do not know what she thought. I do not think she was sure of winning. I mean that I know", he replied, when asked what her response had been.

About the timing of the declaration of Emergency soon after the Allahabad High Court judgment against Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister said he had not had access to the sort of intelligence the Government was getting at that time.

"My mother did not talk to us about it. And of course without that it is difficult to say what really, what sort of pressure they were under. Because there had been, just about that time, a call by Jayaprakash Narayan for total revolution, including revolt in the armed forces and you know these sort of things", he said.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1115

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS GANDHI 'SPECIAL BRIEFING' IN LONDON

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by Batuk Gathani]

[Text]

LONDON, Oct. 16.

The most significant aspect of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's 36-hour visit to the U.K. is that while there is a healthy understanding and respect for Indian and British views on major international and bilateral issues, it is also an open secret that London and Delhi remain deeply at odds over sanctions against South Africa.

However, at a special briefing Mr. Rajiv Gandhi told THE HINDU that there had been some "softening" in the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's stand on South Africa. In fact, prominent British diplomatic observers writing from Nassau this morning are hoping that Mr. Gandhi may seize the initiative and work for a radical consensus approach at the Commonwealth summit meeting in Nassau. At the same time, India and a vast majority of the 49 member-States taking part in the Nassau conference will not accept a do-nothing strategy nor risk a British veto at the United Nations, should the sanctions plan be taken to the Security Council.

Right person: Mr. Gandhi's conciliatory attitude coupled with genuine understanding and appreciation of the British viewpoint on South Africa—however different from India's—prompts analysts here to suggest that he will be the right person to hammer out a consensus approach. Britain remains totally isolated with three major white members—Australia, New Zealand and Canada—now opting for tougher sanctions against the racist regime.

There is also a warm personal relationship between Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Gandhi. Both leaders are happy about the outcome of their two-day talk in London.

Last night, Mr. Gandhi described his talks with Mrs. Thatcher as "extremely friendly" despite what he described as "understandable" differences of opinion about the means and not the ends over South Africa.

Legal package: The most substantive result of the Gandhi-Thatcher dialogue may be the legal package in the form of an extradition treaty. Mrs. Thatcher has assured India she will en-

sure that Sikh terrorists have no hiding place in Britain. Until now Sikhs with British nationality could not be sent back to India to face punishment for their anti-Indian and terrorist activities in Britain. In a totally unexpected move Mrs. Thatcher has signalled her willingness to amend the present terrorist laws which will make it possible for British Sikhs to be extradited to India.

This is a major breakthrough on the vexed question of terrorism. India wants back certain Sikhs who claim they cannot be returned because they have broken no law in Britain and also because they are British nationals. Experts from British and Indian sides will study arrangements "to ensure that people who are accused of crimes of violence in either country should not be able to avoid extradition by claiming they were political offences", a British official statement said last night.

The new arrangements would also ensure that crimes committed in one country would be offences in the other. Sikhs who could face extradition would include those guilty of incitement to violence.

Defence deal talks: On the economic front prospects of a Rs. 400 crores sale of British helicopters to India appears to have received a boost. Mr. Gandhi stated last night at a press conference that a "substantial understanding" had been achieved in the negotiations. British officials confirm that discussions on other aircraft sales which include Sea Harrier jump jets for the Indian Navy "are continuing satisfactorily".

Last night at a reception hosted by the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. P. C. Alexander, Mr. Gandhi met prominent British political, business and industrial personalities. The Labour Party leader, Mr. Neil Kinnock and Chairman of the Conservative Party, Mr. Norman Tabbitt were also there.

PTI, UNI report:

At the press conference here, Mr. Gandhi expressed grave concern over Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapons and passing them on to countries financing the programme and asserted

India had to ensure that its security was not endangered in any way.

In reply to a question about Kashmir, Mr. Gandhi quipped "Is there a dispute about Kashmir?" To another question on 'occupied Kashmir, he said India did not have any plan to liberate this part of Kashmir.

Tackling terrorism: Mr. Gandhi said 'terrorists' in Punjab had been contained. They had been finished politically in Punjab by the elections. The Government would be able to tackle a few isolated terrorists under the law. "We have a Government in Punjab and it will tackle it", he said.

The Prime Minister said the Government had also informed the countries from where the terrorists were getting assistance.

The human rights of the people of Punjab were not at all affected, he said. More than 67 per cent of the electorate had voted in the recent elections there. They came out to exercise their franchise enthusiastically despite a call for boycott by terrorists, he said.

"The people of Punjab had voted out terrorism from India", he added.

On extradition of terrorists holding British nationality, Mr. Gandhi said it would depend on what the lawyers thought about it.

Mr. Gandhi said India and Britain had not specifically discussed any joint action to fight international terrorism. There was a need for the affected countries to evolve a solution to fight the global problem, he noted.

U.S. action: Asked whether he justified the U.S. President, Mr. Reagan's action in the capture of the hijackers of an Italian cruise ship in the Mediterranean last week, Mr. Gandhi paused and then said: "Well yes and no. Admittedly it is extremely frustrating to see something like this happen but the answer is not to take law into your own hands".

Mr. Gandhi said the solution must be worked out internationally. "We have our own problems with the United States. They have training schools where terrorists have been trained and have killed many people in India. Why is that any different?"

Sri Lanka problem: About Sri Lanka, he said that the talks to solve the ethnic problem of the island were making headway. A solution ac-

ceptable to both sides may be found, he added.

Asked if he hoped to achieve anything on the issue during his talks with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in the Bahamas later this week, Mr. Gandhi said: "It is not a problem between Mr. Jayewardene and I. It is a problem between Sri Lanka and certain residents of Sri Lanka."

"We tried to get the two sides together and there was some headway a few days ago", he said.

To a question on the racist Pretoria regime, Mr. Gandhi said "we feel not enough pressure is being put on the minority regime in South Africa". He hoped that the topic would be discussed at length at the Commonwealth summit in the Bahamas.

Asked whether he had discussed with Mrs. Thatcher the recent riots in Britain, Mr. Gandhi said this was an ethnic problem and the British Prime Minister was handling it properly.

Afghan issue: Asked if India would assume a mediatory role in view of the deadlock in the Geneva talks over Afghanistan, the Prime Minister said India did not propose to do so. "We are not stepping in", he added.

Pakistan, he said, had changed its position. Initially it wanted direct talks with Kabul but now it had deviated. "Maybe, it has vested interest in keeping the issue alive", he said.

New economic order: Mr. Gandhi said the developing countries were prepared for a dialogue with the industrialised countries on a new package of world economic order suitable to "all of us".

Mr. Gandhi said: "I think most countries would accept the fact that the economic system as it is today will not be able to hold itself. With the problem facing the world in the coming years something has to be done about it".

Compensation to Bhopal victims: Mr. Gandhi said Union Carbide had not paid enough compensation to those affected by the Bhopal gas tragedy last December.

Mr. Gandhi said not only in India, but also in Europe and America a lot of the lethal methyl isocyanate was carried by road and on the railways. There had been accidents but Union Carbide had not publicised them.

INDIA

RAJIV MEETS NEWSMEN AT DELHI PRESS CLUB

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Oct 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 11--Mr Rajiv Gandhi said today that India had "conclusive proof" that Pakistan was developing a nuclear bomb but categorically denied that India would respond by making a hydrogen bomb, report PTI and UNI. Mr Gandhi dealt with a wide range of questions on national and international affairs at his first Press conference at the Press Club of India here.

Mr Gandhi said there was now a bigger danger of the Pakistani bomb being given to the countries financing the project. He said: "Now we have to consider what we have to do for our security."

Mr Gandhi was asked whether India would now go nuclear. He said that efforts had to be made both in regional and international levels to stop the Pakistani bomb. Then "we have to decide on a response when we see that they actually hold a weapon."

When a correspondent asked whether India would wait till New Delhi was destroyed, like Hiroshima or Nagasaki, Mr Gandhi said "we shall not allow that to happen under any circumstance. Neither Delhi nor any other city of India would be allowed to be flattened."

Mr Gandhi said what was worrying India was that if the Pakistani bomb went to other countries it would make matters extremely difficult and create a very serious situation.

Asked how long India would take to make a bomb if a decision was taken after Pakistan exploded one, Mr Gandhi said he could not make a specific commitment but he emphasized that India's entire nuclear programme was peaceful.

He said there were other measures to stop the Pakistani nuclear weapons programme. He said he would meet the Pakistani President, Gen Zia-ul-Haq, in New York this month and take up the matter with him.

Mr Gandhi said he would also take up with Gen Zia the question of Pakistan training extremists and its interference in India's internal affairs.

Mr Gandhi reiterated that India had "no programme as Pakistan and we are not making any bomb."

The Prime Minister said the Pakistani nuclear programme and its interference in India's internal affairs were the "major bottlenecks" in the path of normalization of relations. "We are willing to go to any extent to normalize relations with Pakistan and we have already made it clear to them."

Mr Gandhi denied that his raising the Pakistani nuclear question and its assistance to the extremists had soured relations between the two countries. "In fact my raising of these questions can help improve the situation and also our relations," he added.

He said interrogation of extremists had confirmed that they were trained in Pakistan. When a Pakistani correspondent asked why he doubted Gen Zia's intentions, Mr Gandhi said that when a jatha went to Nankana Sahib last November, Pakistani officials drove them towards extremism and distributed very harmful literature.

Replying to a question from a Pakistani correspondent, Mr Gandhi said he did not doubt the intentions of the Pakistan President but sometimes his action and words were contradictory.

"He (President Zia) talked to me very sweetly when we met in Moscow after the funeral of the Soviet leader, Chernenko, but later in an interview to a magazine he said something else," Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister was asked whether the Centre would accept the Punjab Government's plea for changes in the terms of reference of the Mathew Commission appointed to ascertain the areas which could be transferred to Haryana from Punjab in lieu of Chandigarh.

Mr Gandhi admitted that some mistakes were committed in drafting the terms of reference and described them as unintentional and unfortunate. It might be difficult to change the terms of reference as the commission had already begun its work, the Prime Minister said. But he gave the assurance that he would ensure that no Congress-I run State Government exploited the lacunae in the terms of reference.

Mr Gandhi ruled out any Government interference in the affairs of gurdwaras and said it was for the Sikhs to decide how to manage their religious places. Similarly, it was for the Akali Dal Government in Punjab to maintain law and order in the State and to ensure that there was development and progress.

He was confident that the Barnala Ministry would try to achieve this target, the Prime Minister said. In reply to another question, Mr Gandhi said a memorial in honour of Sant Longowal should be built in Punjab. He, however, agreed to consider whether such a memorial could be established in Delhi.

Mr Gandhi said his Government was considering making obligatory public auditing of the accounts of political parties as one of the steps to curb generation of black money.

At the outset, the Prime Minister denied that his Government had deviated from the Nehruvian concept of economic self-reliance to earn praise from Western countries.

It was not for him to comment on why the Western media was out to praise him, he observed. One thing was very clear: self-reliance was an evolving concept. What Nehru did in the fifties in the light of the situation at the time was being done by his Government in the context of the eighties, he added.

Mr Gandhi defended the import of high-technology in areas where the process of indigenization had been slow. In fact, the country had enough technology but what it lacked was the "shop floor ethos", production technology and management, he added.

Mr Gandhi ruled out a switch-over to the Presidential form of Government.

Mr Gandhi announced that the Government would shortly come out with a special programme of distribution of grains at reduced rates for the poor.

The organizational elections of the Congress (I) would be completed early next year.

Mr Gandhi reciprocated the encomiums he has received recently from some Opposition Chief Ministers and said "this shows we are pulling as a united India and this is what we have set out to do."

CHINA

About normalization of relations with China, Mr Gandhi said the border question was "most central to our relations." This was a difficult question and would take quite some time to be resolved.

About relations with Bangladesh he said he had very friendly discussions with President Ershad and tremendous progress had been made in the efforts to resolve the Ganga waters dispute.

Asked if the Government was reconsidering fencing the border with Bangladesh, Mr Gandhi said there were always problems in dealing the border. It was a tremendous task.

On Afghanistan, Mr Gandhi said India had not taken either pro-Soviet or anti-American stands. India's stand was the non-aligned position on the Afghan problem.

On the Iran-Iraq war he said despite Indian and U.N. efforts, nothing significant had been achieved.

Asked what was he going to discuss with Commonwealth leaders at the summit in Bahamas, Mr Gandhi said he would discuss important questions like disarmament and the deteriorating world economic situation.

On South Asian Regional Cooperation he said a good beginning had been made and the SARC summit in Dhaka in December would formalize a framework for cooperation in various fields.

SARC had done tremendous good to the region as leaders could speak freely and frankly on telephone on regional problems.

He described the agreement between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil militants on the arrangements for securing an effective cease-fire as a major step towards a lasting solution to the island's ethnic problem.

He said India was not for an independent Felam State. A solution of the ethnic problem should be found within the Sri Lankan Constitution and India would extend whatever help it could.

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CSO: 4600/1120

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS COMPOSITION OF RAJASTHAN CABINET

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Oct 85 p 5

[Text]

Jaipur, Oct 16 — The Harideo Joshi Ministry was expanded today with the swearing in of 10 new ministers while two ministers of State have been elevated to the Cabinet rank.

In a crowded ceremony at Raj Bhawan Governor O P Mehra administered the oath to the new incumbent.

Soon after the swearing in Chief Minister Harideo Joshi announced the portfolios of the new ministers.

Mr Heeralal Devpura who till now was the Vidhan Sabha Speaker has been inducted as Cabinet Minister with important portfolios like education, medical and health, labour and nine other departments.

The Chief Minister has kept 17 departments with himself including the home and finance.

The two ministers of State who have been elevated to the Cabinet rank are Mr Sheesh Ram Ola (Forest) and Mr Choga Ram Bakolia (Local Self Department and Urban Improvement).

Of the eight new ministers of State only Mr Ram Singh Vishnoi has been given independent charge (Animal Husbandry).

The other seven ministers of State will assist the various Cabinet Ministers including the Chief Minister. These are Ram Kishan Verma, Mrs Zakia Inam, Mahendra Kumar, Mool Chand Meena, Sujan Singh Yadav, Damodar Das Acharya and Heera Lal Indora.

The significant aspect of the expansion has been that Mrs Bina Kak has been made Deputy Minister. She is the only Deputy Minister in the ministry.

/12379

CSO: 4600/1133

INDIA

GANDHI SPEECH TO PARLIAMENTARY DEFENSE PANEL REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, October 11.

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, said today that a second aircraft carrier was necessary for the country to have a strategic force and that it was for the navy to decide its force-level.

Addressing the Parliamentary Consultative Committee for defence, the Prime Minister stressed the need for a perspective plan for the navy which had to not only guard the coastline but also to play its legitimate role in the Indian Ocean.

The members, who were divided over the advisability of having a second aircraft carrier, got the impression that the Prime Minister favoured its acquisition.

One member pursued the issue further in the context of the British offer of its old aircraft carrier, Hermes, but the Prime Minister clarified that his forthcoming visit to the U.K. was not for negotiating defence and related equipment.

The members opposed to another aircraft carrier felt that this concept had become outdated and that an aircraft carrier would be vulnerable to an enemy attack.

The Prime Minister was also asked about the change in the official stand on the unsuitability of the Westland helicopter being offered by Britain along with a grant.

He parried the question by saying that this helicopter was being considered for civilian use and had nothing to do with the navy.

The members also wanted allocations for the navy to be increased. The minister of state for defence, Mr. Arun Singh, said the budget allocation had to be linked to threat perception.

Mr. Singh agreed with a member's suggestion that the country could not base its threat perception only in the context of Pakistan.

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CSO: 4600/1119

INDIA

ITALIAN ASSISTANCE IN TECHNOLOGY SOUGHT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] India has invited technological assistance from Italy in the fields of transport, telecommunications, agro industries, energy and electronics on a buy-back arrangement basis.

Industries Minister N D Tiwari indicated the Government's view on Friday when he met members of a delegation from the commission for industry and commerce from the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

During the talks, Mr Tiwari indicated that India would welcome Italian technological assistance in a variety of fields, including auto ancillaries, telecommunications, light commercial vehicles, electronics, wood and plastic machinery, agro industries, leather goods and their finishing and designing.

He suggested that Italy encourage buy-back arrangements particularly in the fields of auto ancillaries, pharmaceuticals and engineering components.

Italian delegation leader Severino Sitaristi conveyed to Mr Tiwari that Italy could offer technical assistance in several areas and a number of Italian firms were keen to extend technical cooperation to India and to set up joint ventures.

Italy, he said, was setting up an organisation in New Delhi to promote technical and economic cooperation. Banking facilities would also be improved. Referring to the country's seventh Plan, he suggested that areas in which Italy could help, particularly in development of small and medium scale industries, be identified.

Both sides agreed to take steps to strengthen technical cooperation between the two countries.

As regards the trade gap between India and Italy, Mr Tiwari called for greater volume of imports from India so that Rs 450 million trade deficit of India could be reduced. Besides textiles, leather goods and granite, Mr Tiwari suggested engineering goods from India for imports by Italy.

He felt that Italy also could help relax trade barriers against Indian imports by the European Common Market countries. Mr Tiwari particularly sought removal of difficulties in utilisation of Italian soft loans.

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CSO: 4600/1139

INDIA

PROBLEMS OF, PLANS FOR PURIFYING GANGES WATER

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by B. S. Padmanabhan]

[Text]

The main thrust of the programme to purify the Ganga is to prevent the discharge of effluents with a high pollution load by renovation of all existing sewage pumping and treatment plants and installation of new plants. Experts advocate a systems approach to achieve the desired water quality by methodical modelling of the river.

THE Ganga has received international attention ever since Mr. Rajiv Gandhi listed among the priorities of his Government an ambitious programme of cleaning up the river. The swift follow-up in setting up the Central Ganga Authority under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, appointing a steering committee, preparing an action plan and initiating talks for possible foreign expertise indicate how serious the Government is to make the much revered river less polluted.

There can be no two opinions that Mr. Gandhi deserves credit for initiating the programme and according it a high priority. If he has been able to do so, it is in no small measure due to the groundwork prepared over the last few years by the Central Board for the Prevention and Control of Water Pollution set up in 1975. One of the first tasks of the Board was to initiate a systematic study of all the river basins to assess the extent of pollution and prepare schemes for their proper development.

As part of this exercise, the Board came out with a comprehensive report on the Ganga basin three years ago. The Planning Commission also launched in 1981 a co-ordinated research project on controlling pollution and harnessing the waters of the Ganga. As many as 14 universities and six research institutes situated along the Ganga were associated with the project. These exercises brought out the high level of pollution in the river.

The magnitude of the task the Government has set for itself can be gauged from the length of the river and the size of its catchment area. Rising in the Garhwal Himalayas under the name of the Bhagirathi, the river takes its name, Ganga, after joining with the Alaknanda at Deva Prayag and flows through three most populous States—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal—in its 2,525 km run. The longest run is in U.P. with 1,450 km. In Bihar, it flows through a length of 445 km and in West Bengal, 520 km. Among the 14 river basins in India, the Ganga basin is the largest, covering nearly nine lakhs sq. km. in seven States. The river gets replenished at various points by at least eight tributaries.

The report of the Central Board shows that though the Ganga water shows a considerable amount of resilience so far as pollution is concerned, its organic pollution load is significantly high. The biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) level is more than three milligrams a litre, especially between Hardwar and Trighat. In the stretch from Kanauj to Kanpur, the BOD rises to a very high level of 10 to 20 milligrams a litre. Transport of organic pollution load from the catchment areas to the Ganga shows wide seasonal fluctuations especially in the segment upwards of Patna. During the dry season hardly five to 42 per cent of the total BOD load generated within the catchment area is actually transported to the Ganga. During the monsoon months, on the other hand, 1.6 to

5.7 times of the generated BOD load finds its way to the Ganga.

Organic pollution load

The Ganga is found to have a remarkably high capacity to purify itself by removing the organic pollution load added to it. Another redeeming feature is that despite the high BOD level, the dissolved oxygen (DO) along the entire course shows a stable and healthy pattern. The oxygen never falls below the critical level of five milligrams a litre. However near large cities like Kanpur, Allahabad and Varanasi, local DO sags have been observed. The total nitrogen content along the course is also generally low except between Allahabad and Trighat where it is high and needs to be controlled for better fish growth.

The coliform count in the Ganga has shown considerable variation. From Trighat upstream to Kanauj, the total coliform bacterial content is found to be too high, the "most probable number" ranging from 5,000 to 9,00,000 per 100 millilitres. This is much above the critical limit prescribed for potability. Again, in the lower reaches of the Hooghly, especially below Palta, a very high concentration of coliform organisms has been observed during October to June, ranging from 20,000 to 9,00,000 per 100 millilitres.

The concentration of sulphur, sodium and calcium is found to be generally below the critical levels. During the early monsoon in July, the turbidity is found to be fairly high, especially between Munger and Patna, rising from 1,400 to 1,700 "Jackson units". The silt load further downstream at Farakka has been found to be as high as 560 cubic metres per sq. km of the catchment area in a year. In the dry period, the turbidity is generally on the low side, rising gradually from eight Jackson units at Kanauj to 560 at Diamond Harbour. The hydrogen ion concentration or the pH value of the Ganga water usually is between seven and nine, the highest value of nine being found around Varanasi.

Ambient water quality

The conductivity of the Ganga water is mostly below the critical limit of 750 micromhos per CM even during the dry month of May throughout its course except in the reaches below Diamond Harbour where it rises to 2,060 micromhos/CM.

The ambient water quality in the Ganga is such that it is fit for drinking after conventional treatment followed by disinfection and for propagation of wildlife. The high coliform count and high BOD load are mainly responsible for such a low grading of the water quality. Despite the fact that the ambient quality of the water is very poor in many segments, the river is actually used, as it is of higher grade, for bathing purposes throughout its course.

The main sources of pollution of the Ganga are: urban liquid wastes, sewage, storm drainage mixed with sewage, human, cattle and kitchen wastes carried by drains, etc., industrial liquid wastes, surface run-off of cultivated land where chemical fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides are used, whose mixing may make the water unsafe for drinking and bathing, surface run-off from areas where urban soil solid wastes and industrial solid wastes are dumped and throwing of dead bodies in the river.

There are 29 class I cities each having a population of over one lakh, 23 class II cities with a population in each ranging from 50,000 to one lakh, and 48 towns having less than 50,000 population each on the river. Of the 29 class I cities, six are in U.P., four in Bihar and 19 in West Bengal. All these towns have piped water supply, but only 10 of them are covered by sewerage in

varying degrees. Of the 23 class II cities, none is covered by sewerage and of the remaining 43 towns, 38 are not so covered. It has been found that in towns with no sewerage system, the waste water flows through open drains and finds its way into the river. Even in some of the sewered towns, a similar situation arises when the pumping stations are non-functional.

The main thrust of the action plan therefore is to prevent discharge into the river of the effluents with a high pollution load. According to the Project Director, Mr. K. C. Sivaramakrishnan, stoppage of discharge of sewage and sullage will by itself reduce pollution by almost 75 per cent. In most of the major urban settlements on the banks of the Ganga, trunk-sewers have been laid along the river to intercept the drains and sewers coming from the inhabited areas.

Most of the dry weather discharge of sewage and sullage can be intercepted and carried by these sewers to such downstream points where sewage can be pumped above the ground level and applied on land for cultivation. But, often the pumping stations installed for this purpose are not properly operated and maintained. In the result sewage overflows from the sewers and finds its way to the river.

At many places, these plants have been found lying out of commission for many years. The main reason advanced for this state of affairs is lack of funds to operate and maintain them. In some cases, power supply has been disconnected due to nonpayment of bills and the pumping plants are idle.

The action plan, therefore, envisages renovation of all existing sewage pumping and treatment plants, cleaning and repairing of the existing sewerage systems in all the towns on the banks of the Ganga, installation of new sewage treatment plants in all the towns to recover the maximum possible resources, specially energy to operate the

pumping and treatment plants, and derive the maximum possible revenue from it to cover at least the operation and maintenance of these plants; making arrangements for bringing the human and animal wastes from unsewered parts of the towns to feed the sewage-sludge digestors for sanitary disposal and production of more biogas, providing waste water sub-pumping stations at the outfall points of open drains discharging into the river in order to pump the discharge into the nearest sewers, extending sewerage systems to unsewered areas, construction of community cattle sheds in urban areas to facilitate collection of animal and human wastes and generating biogas, prevention of throwing of dead bodies in the river, and regulation of use of pesticides for agriculture in such a way that surface run-off from the cultivated areas does not carry excessive quantities of these materials to the river.

First phase schemes

In the first phase, only the first five steps are proposed to be taken up and that too only in class I cities, accounting for nearly 80 per cent of the total pollution of the river. The programme estimated to cost Rs. 292 crores has been approved by the Central Ganga authority and out of this, Rs. 240 crores will be spent during the Seventh Plan. The next two steps—extending sewerage to all towns hitherto unsewered and construction of community cattle sheds—are proposed to be taken up in the second phase.

The first phase schemes can be broadly grouped as (a) those for diversion of wastes away from the Ganga; (b) those for treatment plants including bio-energy plants; (c) sanitation schemes; and (d) pilot projects and biological conservation schemes. Representatives of the three States—U.P., Bihar and West Bengal—have been asked to initiate time-bound programmes on these lines in the cities in their States.

As for industrial wastes flowing into the river, action has been initiated through the State Pollution Control Boards to ensure that all units have effluent treatment plants. The present status would be reviewed by a sub-committee of the steering committee of the Ganga Authority and a programme of industrial waste treatment would be launched. It has, however, been found that in the case of U.P., 33 per cent of the pollution of the Ganga arises from industrial sources. The corresponding figures for West Bengal is 27 per cent and 20 per cent for Bihar.

The action plan has evoked such great interest that offers of assistance have been received from France, the U.S. and the Netherlands besides the World Bank. The French and the Netherlands offers relate to sewage treatment plants and recovery of energy from wastes while the U.S. has promised

technical knowhow for river pollution control systems. The World Bank which has been supporting water supply and sanitation projects in the country has offered to support the action plan as well.

The question arises whether there is any need for seeking foreign expertise for this project. This was considered at a meeting of experts convened by the Central Ganga Authority recently. The meeting noted that most of the unit processes and unit operations required for treatment of domestic sewage were designed and constructed in the country and a judicious selection from these could be made to make the treatment systems cost effective.

In this context, it was felt that the systems should be such as to help recovery of gas from bio-digestion and use of digested sludge as manure. The consensus was that the available technologies in India in the field of sewage treatment were good enough to meet the needs of the Ganga action plan, though in certain specific cases where the quality of water or resource recovery might need specific types of treatment, imported technology might be considered. To make more effective digestors, various innovations found abroad needed to be looked into, the experts observed.

Another point made at the meeting was that given the long stretch of the river with different characteristics, flow pattern, variability of input, water quality and other factors, it was necessary to attempt a systems approach to achieve the desired water quality. This might be done through methodical modelling of the river. The experts felt that such an approach could be developed on the available data base which could further be improved and reoriented in future. They conceded that there was a "knowledge gap" in the field of operation and maintenance of the sewage treatment plants. It was, therefore, suggested that a training schedule for operation and maintenance should be drawn up at the stage of designing of the plant itself.

The Project Director concedes that expertise required for building sewers and sewage treatment plants is "more or less available" within the country. But, he notes that the plants set up here are aerobic and the process adopted requires a lot of energy which is difficult to get. In recent years, some of the Western countries have gone in for the anaerobic process. The advantage of this process is that it helps recovery of gas, which, in turn, can be used to produce electricity for operating the pumping plants. "To the extent you are able to recover energy, the sewage treatment plants will be better off", he says. Moreover, building of sewage treatment plants is only one part of the action plan. There is need for a systems approach and water quality modelling. Few countries have expertise in this field and India is not one among them.

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CSO: 4600/1122

IRAN

TEHRAN COMMENTS ON SYRIAN DELEGATION'S VISIT, TIES

LD021837 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1113 GMT 2 Dec 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The visit by a high-ranking Syrian delegation to the Islamic Republic of Iran is the theme of today's commentary.

'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm, the Syrian prime minister, and his accompanying delegation, arrived in Tehran yesterday for a 3-day visit at the invitation of the prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They were welcomed by the prime minister, Mir Hoseyn Musavi, and several other high-ranking officials of our country. The Syrian prime minister is accompanied by the deputy prime minister, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of economy and foreign trade, the minister of industries, the minister of state for foreign affairs, the deputy minister of oil, and a group of political and economic officials of the brother country of Syria. The Syrian prime minister is the highest-ranking Syrian official to visit Iran since the victory of the Islamic revolution. After their arrival the delegation visited Behesht-e Zahra cemetery to lay flowers on the graves of the martyrs of the Islamic revolution as a mark of respect.

The Syrian delegation's visit takes places after the recent trip by the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Velayati, to the progressive Arab countries of Syria, Libya and Algeria, and the PDRY deputy foreign minister's trip to Tehran and his meetings with Iranian officials. Continued meetings between progressive countries of the region aimed at coordinating points of view is a most important aspect of our country's foreign policy following the victory of the Islamic revolution. Despite the multifaceted conspiracies hatched by the oppressors to destroy the strategic ties between anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist countries, Islamic Iran has always know that Zionism is the main enemy of the Muslims and Arabs in the region. The trip of the minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic to the progressive countries of the region, and the trip of the Syrian delegation to Iran take place in this connection.

Prime Minister Musavi said that Syria is a country which has close ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and we have close cooperations in various fields,

particularly in connection with world [word indistinct] problems and the war. In view of the complicated issues present in the Middle East region and the world of Islam in confronting Zionism, it is natural that our negotiations should be highly political.

'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm, speaking about his visit, said: Ways to fight the attack of imperialism in the region and also the attack of Zionism on the Islamic ummah will be discussed and debated with the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran during my trip to Tehran. The need for coordination among progressive countries is made clear by a brief glance at the developments in the region; the conspiracy of the oppressors to prevent this coordination and to break up the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist unity; and their efforts to strengthen and advance a compromising stance.

Following the disgraceful Camp David Accord and its extensive negative reception by the Muslims of the region, and the establishment of the Steadfast Front, comprised of Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen, Mubarak's regime was placed in a state of isolation. The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, and this revolution's full support for fighting Zionism until the elimination of this evil lineage from the region, has had a deep effect in strengthening the line of struggle in the region.

The world arrogance, finding itself faced with a strong line of anti-imperialist countries of the region, is using various conspiracies to destroy the ties between progressive countries in order to take the leaders of compromise out of their political isolation in order to prevent both the expansion of the Islamic revolution and the exposure of the vulnerability of Zionism. The reactionary axis of Baghdad-Amman-Cairo-'Arafat is working to this end, and that is why the Islamic Iran has always stressed its strategic ties with progressive countries. In this connection, condemnation of aggression by the Ba'thist-Zionist regime of Baghdad against the strong body of the Islamic revolution of Iran is one of the points emphasized by the brother countries of Syria and Libya. The Syrian prime minister described the aggression of the fascist regime of Baghdad against Iran, and the Israeli regime's aggression against Lebanon as steps in a series of conspiratorial actions by imperialism against progressive countries of the region.

A look at the formation of the Syrian delegation shows the depth of relations between our two countries. The visit by the minister of industries, economy, and foreign trade, and the deputy minister of oil of the brother country of Syria to Iran shows that apart from deep political relations the two countries have considerable economic relations, and this fact demonstrates the depth and durability of ties between these two progressive countries.

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CSO: 4640/87

IRAN

ARABIC JOURNAL CARRIES BAHRAIN FRONT STATEMENT

GF011511 Tehran AL-SHAHID in Arabic 23 Oct 85 p 35

[Text] On the fourth anniversary of the "Safar onslaught" a press spokesman for the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain has granted an important interview on the fourth anniversary of the fierce Safar 1402 Hegira [December 1981] onslaught against the believer masses in Bahrain. Following is the text of the interview:

On the dawn of 17 Safar 1402 Hegira, people in many parts of Bahrain were awakened by the sound of police cars driving through the streets as police stormed houses, arresting whoever they pleased and destroying whatever they pleased, under various flimsy pretexts. This occurred 6 hours before the regime's radio announced that the "security" forces have uncovered an alleged coup attempt by the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain. Only a few days after the false announcement on the discovery of the alleged plot, the prisons were full of thousands of honorable believers, men, women, students, workers, traders, and clergymen.

The repressive authorities launched a campaign against the people: They demolished houses, destroyed farms, and pursued free men everywhere on the pretext of searching for arms, explosives, "plotters," and "terrorist" elements.

From among the thousands of believers who were incarcerated on the pretext of conspiring to commit sabotage, 73 valiant strugglers were selected by the authorities and charged with leading and planning the alleged conspiracy. Among them were 13 strugglers from the Arabian Peninsula [Saudi Arabia], 1 from Oman, and 1 from Kuwait. After 5 months of torture and intimidation in the prisons, the Bahraini authorities passed their tragic-comic sentences on them. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment, others were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, while 10 were sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

The authorities did not respect the sentences they passed or the laws, and persisted in torturing and persecuting the 73 strugglers after their trial, subjecting them to all forms of physical and psychological intimidation. These authorities are still refusing to allow any international committee to investigate the conditions of the prisoners in the prisons, despite all

the requests and demands by Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and numerous human rights committees and bodies in the world. The authorities are also still refusing to allow the 73 detainees to meet with their families, relatives, or friends inside the prison demanding an improvement in their conditions and to be treated as political prisoners, the authorities refuse to listen to any of their just demand. [As received] The campaign of repression that was unleashed by the tyrannical authorities on the dawn of 17 Safar 1402 Hegira is still proceeding with the same velocity and momentum.

The number of free believers who have been arrested from Safar 1402 Hegira until early this year totals 1,300 political detainees. Also during the same period, 4,700 were detained for varying periods and then released; 850 citizens were deported to Iran; 600 citizens were banned from travel and their passports were withdrawn; 4,000 citizens were banished and banned from returning to the country; 17,300 suffered from heart and coronary diseases as a result of the tension in the country; 9,000 citizens were unemployed; 85 percent of high school graduates during the past academic year did not receive grants; the rate of inflation in the current fiscal year was 35 percent; and subsidies were 15 percent less than what they were 15 years ago.

In conclusion, the statement [as published] says: This is the secret of all what happened on the dawn on 17 Safar 1402 Hegira. The issue is not that of a plot engineered by the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain to topple the regime by force, as the authorities claimed, nor is it one of tribal differences over posts between the prime minister and the heir apparent, as some people like to say. The issue is that of an oppressed people who are looking for freedom and salvation.

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CSO: 4604/10

IRAN

DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS WITH ANKARA, DAMASCUS REPORTED

London KEYHAN in Persian 24 Oct 85 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] "An identity crisis threatens the society of Turkey today." This is a statement made to the REUTER correspondent by Mr Bulent Ulusu former social-democrat prime minister of Turkey. Ulusu and many other Turkish personalities like him who grew up at a time when separation of religion from state and new democracy was advocated are watching the manifestation of religious reaction with total dismay.

Ulusu is quite convinced that the military authorities are to blame for the prevailing situation in the country. They seem to have forgotten their faithful vow and pledge of allegiance to the heritage of Ataturk. Perhaps they believe that if they show up at meetings with a Qoran and rosary in hand it might enhance Turkey's position among other Islamic countries. May be Ulusu's statements are somewhat exaggerated, however there is no doubt that after the Aya-tollahs took the reign of government in Iran, the Islamic Republic regime has made considerable efforts to disrupt the very non-religious foundation of Turkish society. For instance, the Turkish programs of Radio Iran have increased from a half hour to three hours a day. And although Ankara is one of the economic partners of the Islamic Republic, yet with total awareness of the final intentions of Tehran's rulers, the Turkish government is all eyes and ears and quite watchful of the activities of the Islamic Republic to incite Islamic fanaticism in Turkey.

According to REUTER's report, as of a few months ago both General Evren and his prime minister, Turgut Ozal have made certain adjustments in their outlook towards Islam and they've risen to control the tidal wave which could endanger the very existence of Turkey. According to this report last month security forces arrested 19 people who were members of "Al-Tahrir Party" and were demanding the return of Islamic law, rule of religion and Arabic language as the official tongue. This party came into existence as an offshoot of the remnant of the Islamic Movement, the National Awareness Party, the Supporters of Najm-ed-Din Arbaban, and the Turkish authorities emphasize that the Islamic Republic extends material and moral support to this party.

According to REUTER's report, the government of Ozal who is personally a Muslim technocrat--has been indifferent in the past to an ever-increasing number of veiled women who make a pretense to religiosity--has recently changed its policy.

He dismissed Vehbi Dincerler, minister of National Education and Training -- who was affiliated to the Naqshbandieh sect--after a religious battle because he had promoted an increase of religious programs in the schools.

Mr Ulusu believes that contrary to the conviction of the president and the prime minister of Turkey, at the time of concluding an agreement with the prime minister of the Islamic Republic, placing of a Qoran on the negotiation table seems to be a good idea, however if they carry on the same attitude out on the streets then they'll find out that neither the Saudis nor Kuwaitis will show an interest in coming to Turkey. Furthermore, as soon as the leaders of the Islamic Republic find a chance they will try to abuse the situation to the best of their abilities. This is at a time when the Islamic Republic regime has severely criticized Turkey for separating religion from state affairs and as a result of such criticism, relations between the two countries have become quite precarious and trembles in the balance.

As time goes on the effects of the new policies of Turkey become ever more clear. This year the female students of the University of Turkey are not allowed to go to university veiled. Likewise, the male students have to shave their beards. Formerly, these rules were applied only to the government employees. Some people believe that the deterioration of relations between Tehran and Ankara can have certain effects, in decreasing the Islamic inclinations or leanings of Turkish leaders. It is for the same reason that during recent weeks Tehran newspapers have launched a violent attack on the anti-Islamic policies of the Turkish government. In any case, as has been mentioned by Mr Ozal, nothing threatens the heritage of Ataturk and Turkey will continue to remain a democratic and progressive nation with its majority of Muslim population without a pro-religion government.

Islamic Republic: Syria is Reason for World Arrogance

The regime of Ayatollahs while quite dismayed by the defeat of their followers in Tripoli is trying to gain a foothold somewhere else. According to a report in a Beirut newspaper, Ayatollah Janati, a members of the Guardian Council, accompanied by several other responsible officials have arrived in Lebanon. Although this mission has gone to Lebanon via Damascus, yet Janati's visit with the president of Syrian parliament and his short stay in Damascus has not had any effect on the deteriorating relations between Tehran and Damascus.

Before the arrival of the Syrian troops in the city of Tripoli, which is the second largest city of Lebanon and is the base for this country's Muslims, the Islamic Republic was hopeful of creating a powerful base there.

The need for an important base in Lebanon, particularly after Syria and its allies--Amal Movement and the Progressive Socialist Party--had succeeded in controlling various Shiite factions which were affiliated with the Islamic Republic in Beirut and southern Lebanon and practically stop their activities,

was considered a vital matter for the Islamic Republic. Also it was for this reason that in order to thwart the attack of the progressive and leftist groups in Tripoli, who were supported by Syria, the government leaders, the press and mass media of the Islamic Republic reacted harshly and at the same time with the occurrence of the above incidence Hoseyn Sheikh ol-Eslam was sent to Tripoli to intercede on behalf of Syria and the Islamic Towhid Movement.

Of course the result of the intercession could not save the Ayatollahs their base in Tripoli. With the arrival of the Syrian army in that city and the sincere reception of the Syrian army and the progressive forces of Lebanon by the people, the last important base of the Islamic Republic was conquered.

A brief look at the press reports of recent days of the Islamic Republic concerning the incidents in Tripoli will show how far the friendly relations between Tehran and Damascus over the conflicts in Tripoli have deteriorated. JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI--official organ of the ruling party--in its issue of October 8, writes: "The infidel Ba'thists' Front, the Nationalists and the Communists through the assistance of Syria while they made a bloodbath by massacring Tripoli Muslims they've conquered that great Islamic city." Furthermore, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI goes on to write about Sheikh Sa'id Sha'ban and his activities in the last two years and adds: "While being inspired by the Islamic Republic, Sheikh Sa'id Sha'ban through his fiery sermons has gained enormous popularity in Tripoli... With the establishment of his Islamic Towhid Movement he ordered the forces which were under his control to close down all the casinos, liquor stores and other centers of entertainment and vice throughout the city of Tripoli and prohibited unveiled women from appearing in public... Small factions which are mostly leftists or communists and are pro-Syrian are quite dissatisfied with the programs of Sheikh Sa'id Sha'ban. The on-going conflicts in Tripoli--which is part of the world arrogance strategy in order to suppress the uprising of the Lebanese Muslims-- is being carried on among the same communist factions who are supported by Syria on the one hand, and the Islamic Towhid Movement on the other."

In this article, the Islamic Republic practically names Syria as the reason for world arrogance. Such an assault against Syria in five and a half years--during which as a result of the war between Iran and Iraq, Tehran and Damascus became ever closer together--has been unprecedented. Of course Damascus has not been sitting on its hand against the threats and incitements of Tehran.

According to an AL-QABAS report, security officials of Syria and Iraq are supposed to meet next week. Such a meeting can be an introduction phase for the reconciliation of the two nations, something which the Saudis have been trying to realize for a long time.

It is under such circumstances that Tehran has dispatched Janati to Lebanon. Most probably Janati's trip together with the efforts of Hojjat ol-Eslam Moh-tashemi, Islamic Republic ambassador to Damascus are all related to the re-activation of Hezbollah and Amal factions against Israel. According to NEWSWEEK

magazine [as quoted by Israeli intelligence] last week Mohtashemi contacted Davoud Davoud, a responsible member of Amal Movement in southern Lebanon and threatened that if he continues to intervene in the activities of Hezbollah and suicide groups, in addition to discontinuing financial assistance to Amal supporters he will also start an anti-Amal Movement propaganda.

As of two months ago, the Amal Movement under the leadership of Nabi Berri has stopped all the activities of Hezbollah and other pro-Islamic groups in southern Lebanon [especially military operations against Israel].

According to the report of sources close to Amal organization, the Islamic Republic representatives in their meetings with the leaders of Hezbollah and Amal in Ba'albek and Beirut, have promised them that if they continue to create further crisis and disrupt the security of southern Lebanon--Sidon and Sur--Tehran will increase its financial aid to them. Contemporaneously with the arrival of the Islamic mission in Lebanon, an airplane carrying a cargo of aid and assistance from Ayatollahs for their supporters also arrived in Beirut. Until now, on two occasions Amal Movement has confiscated aid cargoes of the Islamic Republic and it is not clear whether it will do the same this time or if it will let the Ayatollahs' gifts reach their supporters.

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CSO: 4640/57

IRAN

OPPOSITION PAPER REPORTS ON 'STRUGGLE' AMONG JUDICIAL ORGANS

GF011324 London KEYHAN in Persian 21 Nov 85 p 1

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The struggle between the highest judicial organization of the Islamic Republic, the Supreme Judicial Council, and the prosecutor general--who is supposedly defending the public rights--has been a regular event during the past 6 years. Hundreds of instances have been witnessed of one side ignoring the other's directives, which clearly outline the extent of the clashes. However, since 5 months ago when Ayatollah Khomeyni appointed the leader of the student followers of the imam line, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Musavi-Kho'iniha, as the prosecutor general, he has attempted to operate without consideration for the Supreme Judicial Council by establishing an independent empire like he did in his former post as the Hajj supervisor. Such an attitude has resulted in a severe reaction by the chief justice, Ayatollah 'Abdolkarim Musavi-Ardabili, who also heads the Supreme Judicial Council. During the confiscation of wealth of the capitalists and also those who had managed to obtain a reversal of such orders through the Supreme Judicial Council, Kho'iniha announced that in his battle with the mini-idolaterers he would not accept anyone's recommendations or please. Such remarks created grave concern in the bazaar and among other allies of the Islamic Republic. As a result Musavi-Ardabili indirectly called them inoperable. During the past few weeks, a severe crisis has been brewing between the general prosecutor and the Supreme Judicial Council which may lead to the deposing of one side or the other. For example, we direct your attention to a copy of a letter by the adviser to public courts in Tehran sent to the Supreme Judicial Council published in this issue. In the letter, 'Ali Vakili, the court adviser, has strongly criticized the activities of the Supreme Judicial Council, stating that they are contrary to the constitution. This, however, should not be attributed to Vakili's support for the general prosecutor, because as a judge for many years, he has been denouncing the law-breaking of the judiciary. Apparently in the course of Kho'iniha's introduction 'Ali Vakili told him: Your election was against the law since there was no prior consultation with judges as advocated by the constitution. Kho'iniha replied that such consultations had taken place and Vakili's response was: Yes, 24 hours after you were selected. You are not a source of emulation and thus such a selection is wrong. If you are a source then show your proof.

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CSO: 4640/85

IRAN

MAJLIS MEMBERS' 'CONFIDENTIAL LETTER' ON CORRUPTION IN COUNTRY

London KEYHAN in Persian 24 Oct 85 pp 1, 11

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] KEYHAN News Service - In a letter written by a group of representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Ali Khamenei, president of the Islamic Republic, was accused of complicity and involvement in multi-million dollars misappropriations, receiving commissions for oil deals, trusting the affairs of the government to his bosom friends and supporting the thieves of the national treasury in the War and Guards Corps Ministries.

In the letter written by the Majlis members, which was somehow confidential and has been sent to Ayatollah Khomeyni and other responsible officials of the Islamic Republic by ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY [IRNA], parliamentarians have answered statements made in Majlis by Seyyed Ali Khamenei. For instance, it was mentioned that the system of quota allocation or merchandise rationing brought about many financial ills and created a favorable atmosphere for a number of godless individuals to fill their own pockets. These representatives took issue with the involvement of the clerics in the business of import and export of certain goods and commodities and Khamenei's support for their activity and they pointed out that Khamenei has personally supervised the activities of the Ministries of War, Foreign Affairs, Guards Corps, Interior and Petroleum which involves millions of dollars of misappropriations.

In the letter of the Islamic Majlis representatives there is also a mention of the names of Honar Dust and Salek Shamsai who have been involved in the purchase of large quantities of arms and the sale of oil. The letter also mentioned that on each trip of Khamenei several escort automobiles are sent in advance by planes in order to accompany him, and that millions of tomans are spent on his pompous and ceremonial functions--expenditures of such enormity that it makes one wonder what would have been said during the shah's reign if such practices were observed! Dispatch of this letter caused another group of representatives to write other letters to Khomeyni and point out that some of the signatures on the first letter are forged. Meanwhile, they questioned PARS NEWS AGENCY, which is headed by Hashemi [nephew of the president of Majlis], as to why he circulated the letter. PARS NEWS AGENCY, without mentioning anything about the forged signatures, pointed out that this letter in the format of a special bulletin was sent to only a few responsible officials.

Hereinafter, you will read the complete text of this detailed letter which reached us at the last moments when we were close to going to press--a letter which for the first time from the very mouths of the mullahs and the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly discusses all the corruption, bribery thievery and other improper practices of the regime.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

His excellency Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin brother Khamenei, the honorable president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

For a long time we've had in mind to visit you and discuss some points regarding the general deplorable situation of society and the revolution; however, because of the unfavorable interpretations and uncalled for presumptions which can be made from a mere visit, we thought it would be better to present some of our views in writing to you.

We all are well aware and know your excellency with your revolutionary background, sensitive position and your popularity like an exemplary living martyr, and we do believe in this recognition, however an abundance of engagements, various events and occurrences, political difficulties and grave responsibilities can at times lead one in a direction which they should not go, and there have been many instances when very popular individuals with quite plausible outlook, who as a result of precipitancy and preoccupation have been unable to understand the true realities of a society and the rightful expectation of the people; therefore, they have led that society toward a deviating and destructive end. The fate of such people as Bazargan, Bani Sadre, Ali Tehrani and Shariatmadari all attest to this claim. Until now we all have been doubtful as to the true cause of all the past deficiencies or the present deplorable situation, and on the other hand were fearful of the probable influence of our advice on you, if any at all. But your statements at Tuesday session of Majlis and enunciation of over 20 cases of nitpicking and criticism of the government and the prime minister all comes at a time when the great imam and Ayatollah Montazeri say: The responsible officials should act in such a way so as not to merely use their energies in rendering neutral others' achievements, but they ought to help one another in order to discover the very root of the existing problems and difficulties and try to discover the very bitter truth that all the weaknesses do not necessarily come about as a result of poor management or a lack of law, but that the major part of our difficulties can be attributed to the vagaries and whims of all the officials and ourselves.

Yes brother, caprice! conceit and vanity, vaunt and hypocrisy, jealousy and jaundice are the main cause of all afflictions, and all that you mentioned in the aforementioned session is but a result and the bitter fruit of this evil and malicious tree. In fact, this is God's and the innocent Imams' true interpretation of man's diabolic character! It would be much better if we could with His help from the bottom of our heart say: "...I seek refuge with the Lord and cherisher of mankind, the Ruler of mankind, the God of mankind, from

the mischief of the whisperer of evil who withdraws after his whisper, the same who whispers into the hearts of mankind, among Jinns and among Men... and from the mischief of the envious one, as he practices envy."

Dear brother, we as the representatives of the people have always tried to stay away from siding with either group of a political dispute, and thought that you too were interested in doing so. Thus until now we remained silent and as friends and as outsiders watched the goings-on, however as well-wishers we can not hold back anymore and have to say a thing or two and hope that you will accept it purely as supporters' advice and nothing more.

As regards your statements which were made on Tuesday concerning the unbalanced general level of income which is an outcome of unbridled inflation and because of government control in the process of distribution and quota allocation of goods there is a dual system of price-fixing and all these have led us to many financial woes and created a ripe atmosphere for godless individuals to fill their own pockets, that is all but true. Furthermore, there is no doubt about your factual statements regarding a lack of reliable foreign exchange reserve and that after the advent of the revolution the Iranian economy has tended to be a more single-economy and that our country is on the brink of financial collapse, and that our government is but a combination or conglomeration of incoherent and disjointed policies and politics instead of a place of work and action, and that the danger of public immorality or corruption and narcotics is a very serious affliction--grant you that these are all true. These points are very obvious, particularly for Majlis representatives; however, the solution to such ills and woes was not and cannot be in your two-hour statements which pointed that all our afflictions result from the anointed overlordship of something called government or prime ministership.

What is the religiously lawful reason for such rationalization, what good will it do and what will come out of it? Will it have any benefit except that it will force the other party to the issue to come out and explain in some detail that all our problems and afflictions are but the result of the impositions of Mr Khamenei and his highly anointed office of presidentship and point out to us that instead of acting as a coordinating and guiding device, like the steering wheel of a car between the three powers [Judicial, Legislative and Executive], Mr president acts like an untimely gas or brake pedal.

Deficiencies of the Ministry of Petroleum

You know better than anyone else that a lack of foreign exchange reserve brings about many afflictions and causes an economic slump, and in Iran such a slump is evaluated on the basis of oil sales. Also, probably you are aware of the issues which are discussed at the Oil Commission and the deficiencies of the Petroleum Ministry, even if you are not aware of this part, you know pretty well that the petroleum minister considers himself as your minister and not the government's and that he flatly refuses to inform the prime minister about the relevant issues pertaining to the oil industry.

Thus, we can see that this ministry is practically run by you and not the cabinet minister, and we can see who is responsible for politicizing this ministry and creating political actors who are ruling over the principal Iranian Muslims' national treasury? And we would like to know what the religiously lawful reason for such an act is? It is the head of the executive power who ought to be answerable and not only the government.

And similarly, one should mention the normal and honorable discharge of officials in charge of oil sales, and ask if such individuals as Honar-Dust, who after several years of embezzlement and fraudulent appropriations of upward of 50 million dollars from the national treasury had any impact on our lack of foreign exchange reserve! And ask whether a lack of foreign exchange reserve cannot have an effect on the import of essential goods? And doesn't that lead us to the system of quota allocation of essential imported goods?

Of course we do not, like others, want to give a political color to the issue and say that despite all the corruption and misappropriations in the sale of oil, the secretary general of the Party chose to retain Mr Honar-Dust in his position and let him give to whom he chooses our oil concessions and reap millions of dollars in commissions so that he and his friends will be able to provide for the running expenditures of the Party and cover the cost of the president's propaganda campaigns. Considering the fact that Honar-Dust's brother is one of the hypocrites who is on the run and his other brother is still serving as a consultant, does it not prompt us to make a judgment or come to any conclusion? However, taking into consideration the background of the highly-placed adviser and his deviationary way of thinking, Mr Mir Salim and his close relation with Bani Sadre and taking into account Bani Sadre's--that prostitute intellectual--mutual favor and remembering the fact that even in the December 4 incident at the university, Mr Salim was side by side with Bani Sadre and still served and supported him and also considering the fact that even after failing to gain an adequate vote of confidence, Colonel Salimi was selected as a military adviser--despite his long history of misappropriation and corruption in the purchase of arms for the Defense Ministry, and the selection of Mr Shamsai with his shadowy and disputed background as a cultural adviser, that we think is sufficient evidence to make us remember the very important statements of the imam regarding the affirmation of the duties of the head of state who said:

"The honorable president should know that he is in a position where he can even with the expression of one sentence ruin the life of a pious man, destroy the future of a faithful follower or create an opportunity for an undesirable individual to reach a position which he does not deserve...All the responsible officials, particularly the president should keep away from the flattering impostors and quacksalvers. They should select their 'advisers' from among those individuals who showed their faithfulness and fidelity before the advent of the revolution. Otherwise it will be possible for hypocrites and deviationaries to disguise themselves as faithful and pious men and with our own help and hands they will be able to inflict harm and havoc on Islam and on this Islamic country."

Dear Khamenei, with regard to the existing state of affairs pertaining to the situation of the advisers and other individuals who are part of the circle of friends of the president which prompted the imam to make such a statement, don't you think that the imam's statement was a sufficient, religiously lawful reason for a swift change in the advisers? What other stronger, religiously lawful reason or obligatory task can we have other than the imam's words?

Dependence on the East and West

It is true that the mottos "Neither East nor West" and "Independence" have been drawn to the point of absurdity and prostitution as a result of the lack of self-sufficiency during these past six years, and practically we've become dependent on both the East and the West. The program for the material and spiritual help to the oppressed people of the world has been replaced by the export of posters--not to the suppressed Muslim nations, but to Europe and gradually this program has changed to political and diplomatic support of the oppressed. Gradually we were obliged to withdraw from that position, since they all tended to make our domestic situation even worse. Despite all that, we cannot deny the fact that the Foreign Ministry is in charge of determining our foreign policy and that this ministry is in even a worse situation than the Petroleum Ministry and that its minister is proud to be following the orders of the president and not the prime minister. With all that in mind, we would like to know what the religiously lawful reason is for sacrificing the revolution's strategy for tactics, for attending the funeral service of Brezhnev, for condescending and patronizing the leaders of the Tudeh Party, for not making any effort to help the Afghan Muslim strugglers who are fighting against their government, for putting too much value on and over-estimating our relations with Turkey, France and Britain, for trying to seek a hasty green light from the United States, for dispatching corrupt and pleasure-seeking ambassadors and diplomats to foreign countries as representatives of the Islamic Republic, and for letting many of them seek asylum in foreign countries with complete knowledge by the responsible officials of the Foreign Ministry, and finally for Mr Besharati's [deputy foreign minister] discussion in India about peace and condemning both Iran and Iraq for the war... have all been made with a religiously lawful reason in mind for the prime minister and the cabinet or the president?

Dear Mr Khamenei, you were really correct in that session when you said that all our ministries have become centers of political contention and you are well aware of the fact that a major part of people's dissatisfaction and disappointment, especially the Hezbollah forces, emanate from this source of politicking and mismanagement of the ministries and the wrong attitude of many of our public institutions throughout the country. Taking into consideration the fact that the foundation of all Iranian institutions has been based according to the system of value of the satanic ruler of the former regime and that it is initially a western-style system which is devoid of any affiliation with Islamic values and also taking into account the mistakes which were made in expanding and employing new personnel during the very beginning of the provisional government--while the social atmosphere called for a dramatic and drastic transformation and the dismissal of the redundant personnel, yet nobody paid any attention

and all the wrong decisions were made, even you yourself, who had a role in the decisions of the Revolution Council, did not object to the increase in the number of public institutions by several fold and by your silence gave tacit approval while we all know that it is the Ministry of Interior which should have truthfully been in charge of attending to the needs of the general public. The office of the governor general, the governor, the mayor and those of the lieutenant governors with all their combined jurisdictional authority place our country's executive force at the disposal of the Ministry of Interior, and besides the politicizing atmosphere which has become prevalent in our public institutions are mainly caused by this very ministry. You know pretty well that there is no love lost between the interior minister and the prime minister and the interior minister, like the petroleum and foreign ministers claims that he alone is in direct contact with the president--and we all know, as a result of the political contentions what an incredible uproar, scuffle and run-ins this ministry has had with the Friday imams and other responsible officials throughout the country.

The incident of the Esfahan governor general which resulted in the imam's intervention who ordered the removal of Kohai but who was later appointed governor general of Khorasan by the minister of interior, who according to some sources was not going to give up his fight in the arena of political contentions and the resultant problems in various cities of Khorasan Province and the unfavorable and corruptive situation which came about as a result of this appointment, the martial law in Kashmar with all the afflictions and woes and the imam's position regarding the non-participation and support of the Friday imams of Party policies are all fresh in our memories. Furthermore, regarding the incident of Khuzestan's governor general's office with all the ignominious episodes which cropped up in the area of agriculture, particularly last year's issue of water-melon production and distribution and the improper behavior of the officials in dealing with the problems, the announcement of martial law in Behbahan and its unpleasant aftermath... and yet with all this inappropriate and unbecoming behavior what are the religiously lawful reasons for the interior minister to support and endorse Mr Foruzandeh, the governor general?

Stealing in the Corps

After so much embezzlement and stealing which took place in the procurement office by Mr Hamid Naqashan, who as it is told by those in the know, was dismissed as a result of the differences and in-fightings over the distribution of the booty, probably had a lawful reason and not a political one to become an employee of the Ministry of Interior and thereafter moved to a new job and became responsible for carrying out the Tehran Metro Project--the largest foreign economic agreement of Iran!

On the other hand, the improper and incorrect attitude and conduct of the disciplinary forces with the people and the Hezbollah elements in trying to square old accounts with one another regarding their so-called line of belief in various cities has had its unfavorable effect on the general public. For instance,

after the unsavory and distasteful behavior of Mr Salek, his political scuffles and his inability to draw sufficient supporting votes in Esfahan, he was brought to Tehran by the interior minister and was made the deputy director of the disciplinary forces, particularly the Komitehs which were all given a new political direction--it makes one wonder what might have been the religiously lawful reason for such a selection, or whether we were short of sufficient distinguished personalities!

Yet, worst of all is the issue of the war-afflicted people and the appointments of the minister of interior and the number and frequency of embezzlements which took place in that area that resulted in the unfortunate and unadvisable merger of the War Foundation with the Ministry of Labor. If we are not going to be like others who interrelate things and as they say, everything has a political motive and the Party organization will guide and introduce the proper way, then we would like to ask what the reason is for the imam's reprimand and reproach for employing charlatan and quackish individuals and his angry words about staying away from squaring old accounts in the execution of one's duty, and ask where does all this go back to? Where are these people who put these incompetent individuals in a position of power? And who are these incompetent people who are running our affairs?

Misappropriations in the War Ministry

In any case, the lack of unity and coordination and prevalence of an unhealthy situation in the government is quite another issue, however it is a long time now that our government is lacking in several of its ministerial portfolios and it is also more than a year that the Ministry of Defense has not had a minister--be it that we're engaged in a war, be it that it is illegal, even though it is all without a religiously lawful reason. Yet it is difficult to know whom one should ask to find out who is responsible for all the untimely or inappropriate appointments and all the embezzlements and misappropriations which are going on in various ministries. We hope that what they say about the shift in the purchasing plans in the Defense Ministry--that it has all been pre-arranged so as to make it possible for the representatives of the Guards Corps Ministry to do purchasing on behalf of the Defense Ministry--and thereby reap the huge commissions from multi-million dollar purchases and fill the pockets of a selected number of partners of the Corps minister, is not true. And we also hope that all the statistics which they give us regarding the million dollar commissions in the Corps Ministry's representatives' foreign accounts is also not true! If, God forbid, such statements are true, woe on us who have been robbed blind by trusting the fact that since military affairs, including the purchase of arms, is secret and thus kept silent. We have not demanded an account from the responsible officials and have trusted the fate of the national treasury and wealth of this nation's poor people to the hands of a bunch of pretentious individuals who are nothing but fortune hunters and self-seekers. We are not sure about you, but as far as we're concerned, God forbid, we won't have any religiously lawful reason to present to Him on the Day of Judgment.

Dear brother, as you mentioned in your sermon of Friday prayers and also during the Tuesday session regarding the selection of the prime minister, I ought to come to the point where I see it as a religiously lawful reason between myself and my God and be able to introduce or present whomever fits the position to the Majlis. Also, in answer to those people who used the motto "The friend of imam is welcome" during the Friday prayers ceremonies or when they said that so and so should be the prime minister, you in somewhat a reproaching manner said, don't create "certain atmosphere" and later on while you were addressing the press you told them the same thing.

We would like to ask whether this kind of attitude and such expressions during a Friday prayers ceremony is not in itself an act for the creation of a certain atmosphere? Don't you think that your statements at the Tuesday session to the representatives together with the distribution of a proclamation by a certain individual called Qoli Zadeh who claimed to be a supporter of the president and the extensive distribution of the documents by one candidate for the office of president who had made some remarks against the government, did not also create a certain atmosphere? Is it not true to say that the president is opposed to the creation of any kind of atmosphere which is beneficial to others--but he is not opposed and even encourages all the statements which create an atmosphere that could cover up the president's flaws and failures in the execution of the law? As far as the religiously lawful reason is concerned, we have to say that you should be more cautious and careful in making certain statements.

Aside from the representatives of the Majlis, the general public has been asking why it is only that only the selection of the prime minister needs a religiously lawful reason? Is it not true that a Muslim is responsible for all his private and social acts? And is it not true that all these acts have to have a religiously lawful reason? Didn't the selection of a prime minister four years ago and his support until the end of the term by the president have any religiously lawful reason? Didn't the election or the selection of each and every one of the ministers have any religiously lawful reason? How about their dismissal? Didn't the dismissal of Messieurs Ahmad Tavakoli, Asgar Ovladi, Parvaresh, Salamati, Gonabadi and Nezhad Hoseynian have any political or religiously lawful reason?

Enhancement of the Level of Ceremonies

Dear brother, with regard to a definite need for a religiously lawful reason for every type of overt or covert affair even for us, the representatives of parliament, some issues and ambiguities arise as follows: For instance, doesn't the enhancement or upgrading of the level of official formalities to an unbelievable plane in each and every function which finally caused the imam to express his rebuke have any religiously lawful reason? Doesn't the transportation of 10-15 escort and security automobiles by plane from one city to another and the escort of several Phantom planes--especially at a time when we are in need of their spare parts--and the closing of the road for exclusive use from the airport to the shrine of Imam Reza [Mashhad], the squandering of the people's

wealth and human resources by a person who claims to be following in the footsteps of Imam Ali [peace be upon him] and who pretends in his handling of the reign of government to be preparing the way for the reappearance and rule of Imam Mahdi [the 12th Imam] have any religiously lawful reason or are they purely whimsical?

Let's all remember the sumptuous banquet of Mr Tabasi in Mashhad with its variety of food, different kinds of rice and roasted and skewered kebabs all colored with saffron and your prayers after the party for the victory of the combatants at the battlefield and the poor and the oppressed people, particularly let's remember the chaste, sincere and sorrowful face of that old village woman who out of her devotion and love for Imam Hosey's [may peace be upon him] Karbala, in order to donate an egg or the only chicken she had, ran after the truck taking donations for the war fronts, and let's ask ourselves whether we have any religiously lawful reason in all these cases? And let's not blame our clerics for being ashamed after hearing and seeing all these improper affairs for not wanting to relate the story of the letter of Imam Ali [may peace be upon him] to Osman-ibn Hanif or relate his humble and unpretentious manners and the story regarding his baking bread for the woman with orphaned children and again not wanting to make new promises to the people anymore.

Don't you think that the occurrence of such affairs is not a deviation from the values and mottos of the revolution? Don't you think that if the opposition consider the occurrence of such affairs as a return to a government whose officials seek a life of ease and a royal and luxurious manner of existence, we should give them every right? And furthermore, what do you think the deprived people will say when they hear about the prince-like wedding ceremony of the imam's representative's son [with a honeymoon in Europe] who through your help married a girl from that Mr billionaire, where or to whom do you think they'll turn afterwards? Likewise, what do you think was the religiously lawful reason for the wasteful and profligate Kheybar training maneuvers or for those which were carried out in the vicinity of Tehran or the current year's Badr military maneuvers? Who will be responsible for all the deaths which occurred as a result of those ridiculous and absurd theatrical shows? If such spendthrift and lavish episodes had occurred during the reign of the shah what do you think would have been our reaction? While a deprived people like the Afghan Muslims are in need of a single bullet to continue their fight and while we purchase or prepare arms and weapons through oil foreign exchange, with what religiously lawful reason does our Supreme Council of Defense headed by the president of the Islamic Republic chooses to waste millions of bullets in order to announce the beginning or the end of the War Week? Don't such extravagant and wasteful operations render silly and ludicrous all the statements regarding the spendthrift manner of some clerics at the warfronts? Will not such actions gradually degrade the moral and spiritual aspect of the battlefronts?

Don't you think that with the continuation of such an abominable situation all the religiously unlawful atrocities will eventually make the genuine religious people indifferent? If the responsible leaders of our society tend to choose

a life of ease and comfort and regard the Islamic revolution's mottos as ludicrous, and elect to disregard the feeling of the people and promote the incidence of such grave and sinful acts as profligacy, aristocratic life, deceit and lie in each and every facet of work, then we ought to admit that instead of a revolution we've made a mistake and are heading toward a devious direction, where there is no trace of the status of the piety, faith and devotion and everything is replaced by vice and hypocrisy! Then we are not sure what kind of a religiously lawful reason can be offered?

Merchant Clerics

Dear brother, we all claim to be followers of the line of the imam and for some people this is just a trump card. First of all, how come in the matter of the introduction of the prime minister with regard to the personal support of the imam and the oppressed people's government and the letter which you and your close associates on behalf of the imam brought to the Majlis at the beginning of the current term cannot be followed to support the prime minister, and furthermore don't you think that considering the recent run-in and improper conduct of Mr Yazdi in his meeting with the imam there is a gradual danger of inciting the great imam to do the unthinkable and say enough is enough and out you go? Yet, most important of all is the private and social life style of the authorities in charge of the government. For instance, we all have seen the living quarters of the imam and we all know that the imam would not allow lavish expenditures on repairs for the Jamaran religious center. Now let's cast a glance at the life style and redundant formalities which are followed by responsible officials of the country who claim to be following the example of Ali [peace be upon him]. Their ultra-modern household appliances, their race to attain a higher position and to acquire larger and most expensive homes, their increasing expectations for more prestige, their growing conceit and egotism, their contempt for the opposition and their involvement with materialism and business deals all because of a statement which was made by Martyr Mo-tahari who said: "The weakness of the clerics is the result of a lack of economic independence," which as a dangerous plague, an infectious disease or a lethal cancerous ailment has affected our clerics and the rest of us. Was it not you who believed that the way for the independence of the clerics was the example of the innocent Imams' life style of contentment? With due consideration to the Islamic precept which recommends "the prohibition of not committing what is religiously unlawful," even for the president, then for what religiously lawful reason are you not fighting against this horrible danger, or at least through your practice trying to put a stop to the recurrence of such affairs? You know pretty well that the root of many of the disagreements and differences lie in this business dealings and commercial transactions. For example, the Commerce Ministry has not granted an export or import permit to a certain individual who has been recommended by a highly-placed trade representative or it has not allowed so and so who happened to be a partner of a cleric to open his new trading company and so on... What greater disgrace and ignominy can we have when our illuminate theologians of the former days tell us that there is no religiously lawful prohibition against a cleric being a merchant and

pleasure-seeker? At any rate, what is evident is that gradually the United States is becoming ever more successful in its thesis regarding the separation of state and religion. Probably, it is all as a result of our own whimsical desires which persuaded a bona fide and sincere class of clerics, particularly the great personalities such as the imam and other unassuming harbingers of the revolution to come to the conclusion that we made a mistake when we said that politics is part of religion--yet, as the circumstances indicate our class of clerics will not be convinced that the profession of a theologian does not mix well with that of ruling a state and by increasing and spreading the incidence of corruption and vice they will prove that the place for a cleric is only at mosques and thus make Catholicism out of Islam and a Pope and a clergy out of a theologian. May God protect us from those days and our pre-fabricated religiously lawful reason! Certainly you are well aware that after the lapse of only six years from the advent of the Islamic government the rate of corruption, bribery, injustice, murder, unwarranted executions--or frankly speaking the crimes of our government officials, particularly in some regions under the control of our Guardian Corps--have increased so much that neither Ayatollah Qomi nor Shariatmadari or other prominent personalities emphatically endorse the actions of the government anymore. It is only on rare occasions, as a result of certain pressure, that they endorse the general format of the system of government. And for the same reason we see public notices on the walls of the offices of many high-ranking officials that say: "Please, no political discussions"--which means discussion of private and general public's problems.

Moreover, the recent reaction of the imam forebode a grave danger which should make us reflect profoundly on how and why within a period of four years we could make four million voters so indifferent--and if we continue to go on like this what will happen in the next four years. What kind of a religiously lawful reason can we have for such an immense loss? In the end we will probably wind up with what you said: "That I'll do my duty and after finding a religiously lawful reason I'll introduce the prime minister." However, we the parliamentarians, with due consideration to all the corruption, capriciousness, political antics and weighing the character and background activities of the gentlemen, knowing the fact that the only unnecessary thing in the execution of one's duty is the sincerity toward Islam and the people, will have no religiously lawful reason to vote for your choice of a prime minister; therefore, it will either have to face our rebellion, our abstaining from voting or silence?! With regard to the sorrowful plight of the economic situation of the country, how do you think the fate of an oppressed nation will be affected when through political skulduggery and underhanded dealings a brilliant, genuine and old cleric like Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani becomes the butt of the arena of politics by proposing that it is a religiously lawful duty for him to accept the office of prime minister, while you know quite well that his term of office will not last more than six months--either by defeat or resignation! In conclusion, while we wish you success and ask your forgiveness, we would like to mention part of the statements which were made by the imam regarding the affirmation of the duties of the cabinet ministers who said: "Forget yourself and remember God, if any individual succeeded in solving this problem then all his other problems are solvable."

Momentary Authority

I would like to tell Mr president that four years have passed already and another four years will soon be gone. It is the nature of all governments, but the only thing that will never be forgotten is the result of our actions.

Those who are in a place of authority, especially the president ought to shun sycophants, charlatans, impostors and quacksalvers. They ought to select their advisers and consultants from among those individuals whose background and record of activities have proven their devotion before the advent of the revolution. One cannot merely say, now that I am in power as the head of the government let me choose only those friends who follow me--no matter whether they are qualified or competent or not. If one chooses to act this way, he should know that this is only a diabolic act.

Furthermore, if the president chooses to select only those individuals who are going to follow his orders and not the Islamic rules as ministers of the cabinet, then he should also know that this is a satanic act too. There is no doubt that one day we all have to answer for our past behavior.

The true government was the government of Ali [may peace be upon him] and it would be much better for those in authority to learn from the examples set by that great character.

Let's all think to serve Islam instead of serving ourselves. The authorities ought to know, or still all of us should know that what really can destroy a man is the very indulgence in one's whimsical desires--which is something in all of us.

The fact is that this is a transient and temporary world. All this rank and authority is ephemeral. What really counts is that what we accomplish in serving people and how are we going to answer God for what we did!

And also let's remember the day when the imam regarding the affirmation of the presidency of Bani Sadre stated: "This is a temporal position and man's action with regard to his obligation toward God is immutable. God willing, with due regard to the program of penetration of the hypocrites in every aspect of our society, I hope we will try to disregard our whims and capricious desires and always remember to keep God in mind and keep away from pious fraud and religious hypocrites."

12719

CS0: 4640/56

FRG RADIO: U.S. ARMS SOLD TO ISLAMIC REGIME THROUGH ISRAEL

London KEYHAN in Persian 14 Nov 85 p 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The topic of Israeli military assistance to the Islamic republic and the covert ties between Tehran and Tel Aviv are among the issues constantly watched and discussed by political circles.

Some political commentators believe that Israel in practice is a channel for U.S. policy in the war between Iran and Iraq, and some others believe that fundamentally Israel possesses an independent policy in its military assistance to the Islamic republic. In this regard FRG RADIO in its German program broadcast a report about the war between Iran and Iraq entitled Israel's policy in carrying out the program of U.S. military assistance to the Islamic republic. In this regard it stated:

The United States is trying to appear neutral in the Iran-Iraq war. However, in order to suit up for action on its long-term goals relating to Iran, it is using its allies. Among them, Israel in the Middle East possesses special importance as a strategic ally.

Washington is profiting from the existing situation as follows: Both Israel and the United States are interested in Iran's return to the West's atmosphere, and Iran possesses considerable importance for its political and military role as an opponent of Iraq. This is because on the one hand the Arabs are not able to enter the field effectively against Israel in the Middle East, and on the other hand the conflict with Iraq will lead to a split in the world of Islam.

It was for this reason that Tel Aviv with U. S. approval acted to deliver weapons and ammunition to Iran from the first day of the Iran-Iraq war. Sharon, the former Israeli minister of defense, explicitly admitted in a speech in Bridgeport in May, 1984 that the delivery of weapons to Iran had taken place for years with the knowledge and approval of the United States in order to prevent the victory of one of the world's most radical regimes, meaning Iraq.

Israel supplied the necessary parts for the F-4 Phantom, helicopters and the U.S.-made rocket system with which the Iranian army is equipped from European weapon sources in 1980, and delivered them to Iran by various routes.

Tel Aviv, through a skillful plan called non-military equipment, organized the delivery of spare parts for the U.S. M-60 tank, and motors for the M-48 and British tanks through an Italian company called DSDP.

In July 1981 a contract to trade and purchase a large quantity of weapons worth 136 million dollars was signed by Iran and Israel.

In accordance with this contract Iran received MGM-52, MIM-23 and Hawk missiles and 155 mm Copperhead and M-107 munitions from the Israeli company International Desalination Equipment Limited.

In February, 1982 information was received that Israel was selling spare parts for tanks, plans and recoilless mortars via that ELUL Company.

In March 1982 the NEW YORK TIMES reported that during the 18 months "from the end of 1980 through March 1982" Iran purchased spare parts worth between 100 and 200 million dollars, approximately half of this cargo prepared by or delivered by Israel.

One of the channels for the delivery of weapons to Iran via Israel is a company registered in Liberia under the name Kendll Holding Limited, which in reality is owned by an Israeli husband and wife named Friedal. In addition to their representative in Israel itself, they are continually in contact with officials at the Israeli Ministry of Defense and that country's weapon export office. They sell to Iran weapons which the Ministry of Defense puts at their disposal.

By this means alone in the years from 1981 to 1982 spare parts for the military transport plane C-13 and U.S.-made tanks worth more than 2 billion dollars were sold to Iran.

In January 1983 Iran ordered from the abovementioned company 200 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 10 LAJ-7 rocket launchers, ten ALR-46 and ALR-6- radars and also 200,000 cartridges for U.S.-made weapons.

According to figures from Israel itself, that country delivered to Iran in 1984 a total of 150 tanks, a large amount of spare parts for the F-4, F-5 and F-15 airplanes and 200 U.S.-made cannon along with other military equipment.

In order to compensate Israel for this military assistance, Iran in turn has sold oil to Israel at a price 25 percent cheaper than for other customers from August 1982 to the present.

Year by year Israel has increased its military assistance to Iran with the direct support of the United States, and official Israeli personages admit openly that a strong Iranian army can serve the interests of Israel.

9597/12980
CSO: 4640/67

IRAN

BRIEFS

REGIME 'PREPARING SUCCESSION' CLAIMED--The central headquarters of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC] has announced that preliminary steps for a series of maneuvers outlining the defense of cities, will start on Saturday, in the centers of all provinces and in several of the country's major towns. The IRGC states in its announcement that this maneuver will be called "khandaq" [trench]. It is designed to raise the level of the people's readiness, [word indistinct], training and organization in the face of the enemy's plots and possible actions. According to the announcement, during this maneuver, the mobilization forces will be stationed at entrance points and other sensitive town areas and will control and monitor the towns' roads. They will thus prepare for the final stage of the Khandaq maneuver, which outlines urban defense, including defense against possible threats in the town. The IRGC announcement has not made it clear against what possible threat this maneuver is designed. Analysts say, however, that the staging of this maneuver--which has the look of defense against a possible military coup--coincides with the announcement naming Montazeri as Khomeyni's successor. These analysts think that the timing of the maneuvers is significant. The analysts state that the maneuvers indicate the regime's lack of confidence in its own stability and its unprecedented fear. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 29 Nov 85 GF] /6662

TRIPOLI EMBASSY SUPPORTS LIBYAN REVOLUTION--Tripoli, Dec. 3 (IRNA)--The Iranian Embassy in Tripoli, in a statement issued Monday, pledged support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for Libyan revolution in the face of plots hatched by U.S. imperialism and the reactionary regime of Egypt. The statement denounced these plots and said that as part of its imperialist schemes against [words indistinct] countries, the U.S. Administration has increased its terrorist activities and military instigations against Libya. The U.S. Administration in order to implement its ominous plans against the Libyan revolution, has been engaged in provocative and aggressive acts on Libyan coasts. Through its economic pressure [words indistinct], military threats, it added, the White House intends to impose a war on Libya. The statement further added that the reactionary regime of Egypt in collaboration with the U.S. Administration and under absurd pretexts, has started military movements in its borders with Libya. Through such actions, it continued, the Egyptian Government aims at diverting public opinion from its involvement in massacre of passengers of the hijacked Egyptian airliner. Such moves, it added, were clear examples of government sponsored terrorism of U.S., which showed its fear of progressive and independent countries of the region. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 0800 GMT 3 Dec 85 LD] /6662

PAKISTAN

AMENDMENTS TO POLITICAL PARTIES ACT TO BE OPPOSED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 12 Nov--The Independent Parliamentary Group (IPG) of the National Assembly decided here today at a three-hour long meeting to oppose the bill seeking further amendments in the Political Parties Act, 1962 when the standing committee sends it back to the House.

A leader of the IPG, Haji Saifullah, Member from Rahimyar Khan talking to newsmen in the Assembly Cafeteria described as "undemocratic, unconstitutional and contrary to fundamental rights as provided in the constitution" all those amendments which were brought about in the Political Parties Act, 1962 through martial law regulations in 1978 and 1979.

He said his group at its meeting has decided to work for the removal of these uncalled for amendments from the Political Parties Act, 1962.

He said if the bill was passed in its present shape, all those political parties which did not get themselves registered in 1979 would forget their right for ever to get themselves registered.

Explaining the point, Haji Sahib said the pertinent order had said that those political parties which would not get themselves registered under the rules would not be allowed to contest the elections. This order, he added, did not say which elections it was referring to and neither did it say anything about what would be the position of these parties after an election was held following registration effected in 1979.

He feared that the ambiguity of the order would be exploited by the Government to keep some political parties outside the political arena of the country forever.

He said his group which according to him comprised about 40 members was not in favour of putting any kind of curbs on political parties and thought that all political parties without any exception should be provided an opportunity to work in an atmosphere of complete freedom.

He said in the opinion of his group the bill in question sought to put unnatural and undemocratic curbs on political parties, therefore the group

believed that an attempt was being made through this bill to finish off forever all political institutions in the country.

He said the need of the hour today was to learn from the bitter experiences of the past and adopt policies which would help avert the repetition of past mistakes.

In answer to a question he said while the IPG has decided in principle to assume the role of opposition in the House, decision to shape the organisational structure of the group has been deferred till the passing of the Political Parties Act, Bill.

To another question he said the members of IPG belonging to defunct Jamat-i-Islami were in total agreement with this approach.

He answered in affirmative when asked if the IPG has established any contacts on formal lines in the Senate and added that these contacts would be further strengthened and expanded.

Meanwhile, the committee of 9-senators constituted for the purpose of framing a police of the Senate as whole on the Political Parties Act, 1962 Bill reportedly continued its deliberations.

/9274

CSO: 4600/110

PAKISTAN

TEXT OF POLITICAL PARTIES BILL REPORTED

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Nov 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] Islamabad, 11 Nov--Following is the text of the Political Parties (Amendment) Bill 1985, which was introduced in the National Assembly by Mr Iqbal Ahmad Khan, Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs:

"A Bill further to amend the Political Parties Act, 1962.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Political Parties Act, 1962 (III of 1962), for the purposes hereinafter appearing.

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. Short title and commencement.--(1) This Act may be called the Political Parties (Amendment) Act, 1985.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. Amendment of Section 3A, Act III of 1962.--In the Political Parties Act, 1962 (III of 1962), hereinafter referred to as the said Act, in section 3A, the explanation shall be omitted.

3. Insertion of new section 8B, Act III of 1962.--In the said Act, after section 8, the following new section shall be inserted, namely:

"8B. Disqualification on ground of defection, etc.--(1) If a member of a House,--

(A) Having been elected as such as a candidate or nominee of a political party, or

(B) Having been elected as such otherwise than as a candidate or nominee of a political party and having become a member of a political party after such election,

Defects or withdraws himself from the political party he shall, from the date of such defection or withdrawal, be disqualified from being a member of the House for the unexpired period of his term as such member, unless he has been re-elected at a bye-election held after his disqualification.

(2) If any question arises whether a member of a House has become disqualified under subsection (1) from being a member, the question shall, on a reference by the leader of the parliamentary party concerned, be determined by the Election Commission.

(3) An appeal against a decision of the Election Commission under subsection (2) shall lie to the Supreme Court, within 30 days of the decision.

Explanation.- In this section, "House" means a House of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and includes a provincial assembly."

4. Addition of new sections 11 and 12, Act III of 1962.-In the said Act, after section 10, the following new sections shall be added, namely:

"11. Exercise of powers, etc. of Election Commission.- During the period when an Election Commission does not stand constituted, the Election Commission constituted under Article 218 of the Constitution or under the Election Commission Order, 1977 (P(P.P.)O. No. 4 of 1977), for the purpose of a general election to the National Assembly and to a provincial assembly shall continue to exercise the powers and perform the functions conferred upon the Election Commission under this Act until the constitution of an Election Commission for the purpose of the succeeding general election to the National Assembly.

12. Power to make rules.- The Federal Government may, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act".

Statement of objects and reasons

This Bill seeks to amend section 3A of the Political Parties Act, 1962 (III of 1962), to insert a new section 8B therein and to add two new sections 11 and 12.

2. The Amendment of section 3A is intended to omit the explanation therein in view of the provision relating to exercise of power of the Election Commission being made in the proposed section 11.

3. The new section 8B set out in Clause 3 of the Bill seeks to provide for the disqualification of a member of parliament or a provincial assembly who defects or withdraws himself from the political party as a candidate of which he was elected as such member or which he had joined after his election as an independent candidate. It also provides for the question of disqualification of a member being decided by the Election Commission on a reference made by the leader of the parliamentary party concerned and for an appeal to the Supreme Court against a decision of the Election Commission.

4. The proposed section 11 set out in Clause 4 of the Bill seeks to provide for the exercise of the powers of the Election Commission under the Act during a period when a Commission does not stand constituted for a general election to the National Assembly and the proposed section 12 seeks to empower the Federal Government to make rules for carrying out the purposes of the Act".

/9274

CSO: 4600/110

PAKISTAN

FORMER JUDGE VIEWS POLITICAL SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Nov 85 p 6

[Text]

LONDON, Nov 8: Mr Safdar Shah, a former Judge of Pakistan's Supreme Court, in an article published in Friday's *Guardian*, has analysed the present political situation in Pakistan, concluding that Pakistan has been turned "politically and constitutionally on its head", and was "in an unenviable position".

The article, spread over seven columns with a large photograph of President Gen Zia-ul-Haq and a small one of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, starts with a reference to the passage of "Indemnity Bill", and says "if anything, it has institutionalised as well as annointed Martial Law, by making it a part of the Zia constitution".

It says:

"Understandably, Gen Zia has not restored the 1973 Constitution, it would be restored, he said, in 1988. The Constitution that he gave Pakistan is of his own liking. In fact, it was a part of the Indemnity Bill, and he had made it clear to the Assembly members that if they wanted him to lift Martial Law by the end of the year, then the Bill must be passed unanimously.

EUPHORIA: "The euphoria of the members, as if they had achieved some kind of a victory, was indeed misplaced. Quite apart from the fact that Gen Zia emerged as the most powerful President under his own constitution, naturally, he was careful to ensure that no loophole was left for anyone to exploit against him, as long as he ruled.

"In Article 270A(1) of his constitution, for example, it says 'The proclamation of the fifth day of July, 1977, all President's orders, Martial Law Regulations, Martial Law Orders and all other laws made between July 5, 1977, and the

date on which this article comes into force, are hereby declared, notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, shall not be called in question in any court on any ground whatever.'

"Clearly the article provides a blanket cover to whatever orders were made during Martial Law, including orders which curtailed the independence of the Judiciary, proscribed political parties, banned all kinds of political activity, banned the holding of elections under the 1973 Constitution, validated the imposition of Martial Law from July 5, 1977, suspended the fundamental rights chapter of the Constitution, and voided the Begum Nusrat Bhutto judgment of the Supreme Court retroactively, which had allowed Gen Zia to rule for a limited period in order for him to hold elections and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people."

Moreover, under Article 270A(6) of the Constitution, none of the orders/regulations can be altered, repealed or amended without the previous sanction of the President. The result is that the people of Pakistan are denied basic human rights, and their judicial and political institutions continue to remain atrophied.

"What kind of democracy has the Indemnity Bill given to the people of Pakistan? The truth is that the political parties in the country are too weak and disorganised to remove Gen Zia, and restore the 1973 Constitution.

"Therefore, the Assembly members settled on the only possible alternative: to pass the Bill.

DOUBLE THREAT: "On July 5, 1977, Gen Zia was under the double threat of being charged for high

treason: under Article 6 of the 1973 Constitution, and under the Asma Jilani judgment of the Supreme Court, reported on page 139 of the 1972 Pakistan-Legal decisions.

"In the case which arose in the wake of the dismemberment of Pakistan, the Supreme Court upturned its previous judgments in the State v Dosso, in which it was held that a victorious revolution furnished its own justification. In other words, since 'nothing succeeds like success' was said to be law by the highest court of the country, it was no wonder that Gen Ayub Khan removed President Iskander Mirza the day the judgment was handed down, and sent him into exile.

"The Dosso judgment occupied the constitutional field in Pakistan for 14 long years. There is no doubt that it opened the door to adventurism that eventually led to the breakup of Pakistan. In the Asma Jilani case, the Supreme Court, therefore, administered a warning to those who might be harbouring an ambition to usurp the legal order of Pakistan: 'Maybe, that on account of their holding the coercive apparatus of the State, the people and the courts are silenced temporarily, but as soon as the coercive apparatus falls from the hands of the usurper, he should be tried for high treason and suitably punished.'

"That was the law in Pakistan when Gen Zia toppled the Bhutto Government, and imposed Martial Law in the country. His self-effacing and conciliatory public broadcast of July 5, 1977, must be seen in the context. What he said on that occasion was that he had no political ambition, his sole aim was to organise free and fair elections which would be held in October this year (1977), and 'I give solemn assurance that I will not deviate from this schedule.'

"Moreover, in answer to the petition filed by Begum Nusrat Bhutto, wife of the executed Prime Minister, the Army General told the Zia

line. The Constitution, he said, had not been abrogated, the Judiciary continued to possess complete jurisdiction under the Constitution, Gen Zia had stepped in to save the country from plunging into civil war and his only aim was to hold elections and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people.

"The Supreme Court, which was largely influenced by the charge of the March elections rigging by the Bhutto Government, held, among other things, that Gen Zia's takeover was justified by the requirements of the State necessity, however, his rule was only 'for a temporary period and specified and limited purpose,' and that 'during this period all his energies shall be directed towards creating conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections leading to the restoration of democratic rule in accordance with the dictates of the Constitution.'

CONDITIONAL JUDGMENT:

"Clearly, the court's judgment was conditional. But instead of 'creating conditions conducive to the holding of elections,' Gen Zia prolonged his personal rule on one untenable excuse or another. During that time, however, he continued to pay lip-service to the Supreme Court judgment because it suited his strategy. After consolidating his position, however, he issued, among other orders/regulations, Presidential Order No. 1 of 1980, through which he curtailed the writ jurisdiction of the High Courts with respect to anything done by the Martial Law authorities, and he also validated his takeover of the country's administration from July 5, 1977.

"Implicitly, therefore, this order did away with the Supreme Court judgment. But the open assault on it had to wait for another year. On March 24, 1981, Gen Zia promulgated the Provisional Constitution Order, which claimed to validate everything done by the Military

Government since 1977, it abrogated the fundamental provisions of the 1973 Constitution, under its Article 16, Gen Zia assumed the power to amend the Constitution at will, the order proscribed all political parties, and it voided the Begum Bhutto judgment of the Supreme Court, at a time when the court was about to hear petitions challenging the legality of the continuing military rule.

"Can a military ruler give to Pakistan a constitution of his own liking? There is no known constitutional principle to support any such hypothesis. Unless, of course, the majority of the people of Pakistan were to agree voluntarily, in a free and totally impartial referendum. In fact, that has not happened. The present Assembly was elected on the basis of laws made by a military ruler. Evidently then, the whole exercise beginning with the December, 1984, referendum, which 'elected' Gen Zia President for a term of five years, and the passing of the Indemnity Bill by the National Assembly is illegal and of no constitutional effect.

"If Gen Zia had been properly advised, he should have respected the Begum Bhutto judgment of the Supreme Court and held the promised elections under the 1973 Constitution many years ago and handed over power to the elected representatives of the people.

"In doing so he would have brought lasting credit to himself and some measure of stability to Pakistan. Sadly, he chose the course of his own liking instead, which as a result involved him as well as the institutional life of Pakistan in deeper complications.

"As it stands today, Pakistan is in an unenviable position. Gen Zia, because of the fear of Article 6 of the 1973 Constitution, as well as of the Asma Jilani case, has turned Pakistan politically and constitutionally on its head. Today all the country's institutions are mongrelised.

/9274

CSO: 4600/109

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ON GANDHI COMMENT ON AFGHANISTAN

BK021221 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1715 GMT 1 Dec 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The prime minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has said that he is in touch with the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, and the [U.S.] President, Mr Ronald Reagan, in connection with the Afghanistan problem. Mr Rajiv was of the view that there should be simultaneous talks for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a guarantee of noninterference in the affairs of Afghanistan. This is a statement the Indian prime minister made after considerable time because India during the last 6 years had hardly taken any serious interest in the solution of the Afghanistan issue. However, his interview to the Japanese newspaper is of importance because Mr Rajiv has said he was in touch with the Russians as well as the U.S. President on Afghanistan. The other aspect of Mr Rajiv's statement is the demand that there should be simultaneous talks for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a guarantee of noninterference in the affairs of Afghanistan. The world knows that the solution of Afghanistan problem entirely lies with the Russians, and Pakistani leaders on a number of occasions have stated in clear terms that the key to Afghan solution was with the Russians, because it is the Russians who militarily intervened in Afghanistan. It is for them to show to the world as to when they intend to withdraw their troops from that country. As regard the guarantee of noninterference, (?a) number of countries have assured in clear terms that they stand a guarantee that there would be no interference in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Russian troops. As such, the need of the hour is to persuade Russia to make a sincere effort by announcing the timetable of the withdrawal of their troops. Obviously, when an agreement takes place on that vital issue, the guarantee has to be followed vigorously and sincerely because this will bring peace in the region and remove a cause of conflict which is raging for the last 6 years.

India is the current chairman of the Nonaligned Movement. As such, it is also obligatory on its part to take interest that the 6-year-old issue is decided peacefully and in accordance with the wishes of the people. India enjoyed best relations with the Soviet Union, and in fact, both the countries have in them a number of important agreements. The two countries have a great deal of understanding between them and the Russians are likely to honor the

initiative taken by India. Moreover, the Indian leader has to take one aspect in consideration that the Nonaligned Movement, of which he is the chairman at the moment, has passed a number of resolutions in this connection and has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops and the right of determination for the people of that country. As such, it is to be seen how Mr Rajiv Gandhi [words indistinct] in this regard. It is also time for the Russians to respect the sentiments of the people of the world who have been consistently demanding a peaceful solution of the Afghan issue. For several years, the UN General Assembly--at several times through its resolutions adopted with overwhelming majority--has urged Russians to withdraw their troops. But Russia has yet to show its response to these resolutions. It may be recalled that after the intervention in Afghanistan (?through) brute might, the Soviets could still not find a military solution to the problem. In such a situation, the attempt to find a political solution in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, Nonaligned Movement, and the ICO, that is the Islamic Conference Organization, were frustrated because the Soviets were not ready to discuss the crucial question of withdrawal of their forces. It is interesting to note that recently there seems some change in the attitude of Russian leaders. In the next round of indirect talks, and whether the Russians really show some flexibility in their attitude or not. [passage indistinct]

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PAKISTAN

PLAN PROPOSED FOR NARROWING TRADE GAP

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Nov 85 Business Supplement p 1

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text]

A BRAND NEW idea for linking exports to imports is reported to have been thrown into the lap of the Commerce Ministry by its foreign consultants assigned the job of advising on how to narrow Pakistan's foreign trade gap.

Breft of its commercial jargon, the new idea simply means that each importer (of selected items only) will be liable to export goods worth at least 50 per cent of the value of the import.

This scheme, it is understood, would apply only to a few selected items of imports like tea and chemicals.

Under the scheme, import licences would be issued to only those parties which could produce documentary proof that they would be exporting or have exported goods worth 50 per cent of the value of proposed imports.

In the opinion of independent economic experts, this scheme would convert exporters into importers overnight as the traditional importers, having no interest so far in exports, would find it difficult, at least for some time, to undertake the export trade.

They also think that if this scheme is taken in hand, the official export permission documents would become trading instruments overnight and would fetch handsome premiums.

Premiums

These premiums, in the opinion of the experts, would serve as the real criteria for calculating the exchange value of the rupee.

While the importer would add the premium he paid on the export documents to the local prices of his imports, the exporter would get his goods' worth and a margin while the end importer of his goods in the foreign country would be paying only his goods worth.

On the face of it, this scheme would push up the prices of imported consumables and consumer raw materials in the local markets, experts felt, notwithstanding the fact that there was no price escalation at the import stage in dollar terms. On the other hand, the original exporter would not suffer even if his export goods were being sent out at dumping prices.

These experts further said that in the event this scheme is further refined and adopted it would help in breaking the various import monopolies which, over the years, have established entrenched canals for fixing prices free of actual market forces.

With the importers joining in the race for exports the overall volume of exports would increase markedly, they said.

While discerning an element of logic in the whole idea, they said, the ultimate casualty would be the country's foreign trade.

Controls

As a prerequisite, they said, all price exchange controls would

have to be abolished to allow the exporters and importers to operate on the basis of true exchange rate of the rupee.

Moreover, in order to make the scheme really meaningful the government would have to return to the private sector the entire export activity of rice and cotton and a substantial part of importing activity of petroleum, petroleum products and edible oil, they said.

The bulk of Pakistan's exports is made up of rice and cotton while petroleum, petroleum products and edible oil form the bulk of imports. If these items were kept out of the scheme then its positive impact on the overall trade would be only minimal while the disruption it would cause would be too great, experts said.

In the opinion of these experts some urgent measures are required to be taken to push up exports which have been stagnating for the last four years. The idea of increasing exports through generous rebates has failed to click and there has been lukewarm response of exports to the very attractive rebates announced in April, 1985.

The reported 15 per cent increase in exports in the first quarter of the current year, they said, did not reflect the actual situation as it had been calculated against the exports of comparable quarter of 1984-85, the year when the country's exports dipped almost to the level of 1979-80. In 1979-80, exports fetched 2.3 billion dollars while last year they brought in about 2.5 billion dollars.

In fact, since 1980-81 when exports fetched something like three billion dollars with rice and

cotton bringing it something like two billion dollars, Pakistan's exports have gone down to 2.5 billion dollars in 1984-85 with the two major commodities pitching in with only 480 million dollars.

In 1980-81, Pakistan was the second largest exporter of cotton in the world and third largest in rice. From this position it has now travelled down to very lowly position.

In 1980-81 Pakistan exported 1.2 million metric tons of rice while in 1984-85 the total rice exports were about 719,000 metric tons. Similarly, in 1980-81 Pakistan exported 325,000 metric tons of raw cotton while last year only about 263,000 metric tons of cotton were exported.

Obviously, Pakistan's two major exports are not doing well lately. Therefore, an overall slump in the total export income, observed the experts.

In the opinion of these experts, the expanding trade gap could be contained only if the exports of these two commodities are increased significantly as soon as possible.

Over the years, they said, it has also become obvious that Pakistan's rice and cotton are not losing their market share because of the price factor. On price Pakistani commodities can compete with any one any day they added.

What, however, has happened since 1980-81, they further said, is that more rice and cotton exporters have entered the international market and found Pakistan's share to be easiest to nibble at, because of the country's non-commercial approach to international marketing of its rice and cotton.

According to experts, the best and the most efficient of the public sector trader looks like a novice while competing against the hard boiled private commercial trader with his eyes glued to the margin round the clock.

Pakistan's exports could regain their 1980-81 position, they said, if the government first concentrated on improving the marketing of its rice and cotton. This can only be done by returning the export trade of rice and cotton to the private sectors, they added.

Additionally, instead of keeping the rupee linked to an unknown basket of currencies, it should be allowed to really float, they said. This would have two-fold advantages, they said. Pakistan's exports would be able to face squarely the bitter price war which is on in the world market. Pakistan might even find it profitable to join this war in a number of new items which it has so far not even touched.

The burgeoning imports would slow down considerably without in any way affecting the overall government revenue.

At present the government has to keep a check on the imports at the cost of revenues from import duties and has also to restrict foreign exchange allocations for import of capital goods and industrial raw material in order to make enough foreign exchange available to import consumer items and consumer raw materials mainly because their cost of imports have been kept low artificially by pegging the rupee to a basket of currencies and manipulating the basket from time to time so that the rupee value is kept higher than its actual worth.

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PAKISTAN

FISCAL DIMENSIONS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 11, 12 Nov 85

[Article by M. Nawaz Khan]

[Part I, 11 Nov 85 p 11]

[Text]

VIEWS on the desirable extent of provincial autonomy range from strict adherence to provisions of 1973 Constitution to creation of a confederal polity for the country.

For the time being the issue has been settled, at least constitutionally, by the National Assembly by passing the Eighth Amendment Bill. Whether the issue has been also settled politically, is yet to be seen. The political debate is, however, not the subject matter of this article, which only projects the view that unless political autonomy is backed by fiscal and administrative autonomy, it is likely to prove illusory in practice.

Past experience has shown that provincial Governments have been frustrated in exercise of political powers conferred on them by the constitution because the provinces lacked necessary financial resources and did not have full control over provincial bureaucracy. Top bureaucrats employed by the Provinces are not, in the final analysis, accountable to them. Let us examine the question of fiscal autonomy only, leaving the examination of administrative autonomy to some other occasion.

Fiscal autonomy means that the federating units should command

financial resources commensurate with responsibilities and obligations imposed on them by the Constitution. These resources must be available as a matter of right, not as discretionary largesse (grants-in-aid) from the Federation. The 1973 Constitution falls far short of this requirement. It leaves too much to be decided by the President, as explained below.

Social welfare

The duties and responsibilities of provincial Governments under the Constitution are enormous, but their financial resources are meagre. Besides maintenance of law and order, provincial Governments are responsible for, among other things, provision and upkeep of economic and social infrastructure like roads, canals, hospitals, schools and colleges etc. In addition to that, provinces have to meet recurring expenditure on education, health and other measures of social welfare.

In the field of law and order the conditions are pitiable. The courts are over-crowded, buildings are dilapidated, magistracy is over-worked and police force is under-paid, untrained and ill-equipped to cope with the rising tide of crime. Roads and canal systems are allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that eventually their rehabili-

tation has to be carried out through development funds, often borrowed from international financial institutions at high cost. About education and health, the less said, the better. The reason for this state of affairs is shortage of funds with provincial Governments.

The centralists are likely to advance two arguments in favour of status quo. Firstly, they may say that the Constitution has a built-in mechanism for sharing of financial resources between the Federation and the provinces. It has not worked satisfactorily because the Constitution has remained suspended for over eight years. Had the Constitution not been suspended, resources would have been shared more equitably between the Federation and the provinces. Secondly, if the provinces are suffering from lack of resources, the blame lies, partially at least, with the provinces which have failed to exploit fully the provincial heads of revenue. We will examine both these arguments to test their validity.

Divisible taxes

The Constitution, vide Article 160, provides that taxes on income, including corporation tax, taxes on sale and purchase of goods and export duty on cotton, are to be shared between the Federation

and the provinces. The President is also empowered to declare any other export duty, excise duty or tax levied by the Federation, a divisible tax. The ratio in which the divisible taxes are to be shared between the Federation and the provinces, and inter se distribution of the provincial share, is to be decided by the President on recommendations of National Finance Commission to be set up by him at regular intervals not exceeding five years.

The first Commission was appointed in 1974 and its recommendations were implemented vide President's Order No. 2 of 1975. The second commission has been appointed now but, in between, inter se distribution of the provincial share was revised vide President's Order No. 8 of 1983. We do not know what would have been the share of the provinces in Federal revenues if second National Finance Commission had been appointed in 1979 when it was due, but the experience of first Commission does not leave much room for optimism.

Firstly, the President did not exercise his option to declare more taxes to be divisible even when it was known that not much could be recovered as export duty on cotton which is one of the specifically mentioned divisible taxes. Secondly, despite the fact that one political party was in power at that time, both at the Centre and the Provinces, no consensus could be arrived at in the National Finance Commission. The Central Government, which in effect meant central bureaucracy, was, therefore, able to play a decisive role in formulating recommendations of the first National Finance Commission.

[Part II, 12 Nov 85 p 7]

[Text]

APART from the influence of vested interest lobbies, another reason for not making a serious effort to increase provincial revenues is the apprehension of provincial Governments that the more they increase their revenues the less they will get from the Federation. It is, therefore, good 'politics' not to increase pro-

If at any time, when a National Finance Commission was set up, all the five governments did not happen to belong to one party, the situation would be even worse. The party not holding office at the Centre might be tempted or compelled to take its case to the people, leading to an acrimonious debate in public on matters which are better discussed at the conference table. Recurrence of such debates at regular intervals would hardly be conducive to national intergration. It is, therefore, obvious that only the naive or pseudo-federalists would be satisfied with the existing constitutional provisions.

President's Order No. 2 of 1975 was out of date even before the expiry of its constitutional life of five years. When this order was issued the Punjab and Sind were surplus provinces, after getting their share of Federal divisible taxes. But the NWFP and Baluchistan had to be given additional grants-in-aid of Rs. 100 million and Rs. 50 million respectively, to balance their revenue budgets. Within the next few years all the provinces were in deficit and in need of grants-in-aid from the Federal Government to balance their budgets. In 85-86 budget, Rs. 5.60 billion have been reserved for this purpose.

It is true that budgets of the provinces are being balanced with the help of Federal grants, but it must be appreciated that every time a province goes to the Federation with a begging bowl, it loses a measure of its autonomy. It is not for nothing that tax assignments and grants to the provinces are shown separately in the Federal Budget; the former go to the Provinces as a matter of their right, the latter, being non-obligatory, at Federal Gov-

ernment's discretion, except the grants recommended by National Finance Commission.

Tax receipts

Let it be admitted that there is some truth in the second argument of the centralists that provincial governments have not done enough to develop and fully exploit the provincial heads of revenue. But a look at provincial budgets would show that there was not much room for increase in the provincial tax receipts.

Barring royalty and excise duty on natural gas which, though a provincial head of revenue, is administered by the Federal Government, other tax receipts of the Provinces rose from Rs. 1.76 billion in 80-81 to Rs. 2.81 billion in 84-85, registering a growth of 60 per cent in five years. Even if the provincial governments had managed to double the growth rate, it would not have made much difference as the Provinces would be still in need of grants from the Federation.

Other receipts of the provincial Governments are from fees and user charges which are difficult to increase for several reasons. For instance, no provincial Government will run the risk of recovering full cost of education and health services, even if it was justified on economic grounds. Such a course of action would amount to political suicide by the party in power. On the other hand, provincial Governments must be held responsible for not raising those user charges for which there is full economic and social justification; for example, Abiana (canal water rate).

vincial taxes and other levies and pass on the blame for shortage of resources to the Federation which, in every one's view, holds the purse strings.

In order to develop a responsible attitude among the public and the provincial Governments, it would be necessary to ensure, first of all, a fair distribution of total resources between the Federation and the provinces. The people of each pro-

vince would then know that their welfare and development of the province was, by and large, in their own hands and if they failed to mobilise resources needed by their province for its development, it would be left behind.

The proposals made by some public figures to remove the present imbalance between the Federation and the provinces, have gone to the other extreme. For instance, it has been proposed that all power to levy taxes and raise revenues should vest in the Provinces and the Federation should subsist on provincial contributions.

Such extreme positions may be good 'politics' but not a recipe for national integration. If the country is to have a true federation and a fully integrated economy, both the Federation and the federating Units must be allocated, under the Constitution, independent sources of revenue.

Some prominent persons have argued that taxes ought to be shared on the basis of actual amount paid by the residents of each province. This argument, apart from being fallacious, is either too naive or mischievous. Tax burden is always measured with reference to its incidence, not its impact. For example, the incidence of import duties collected at seaports, airports and dryports, falls on the users of imported goods and materials, though impact of these duties is borne by the importers. Similarly, excise duty on tobacco and sugar is paid by all who consume sugar and smoke cigarettes whether they are living in Karachi, Lahore, Turbat or Landikotal. Even income tax paid by business concerns is levied on income from their country-wide operations, not just from sales within the province in which their head office may be located. In view of that the most equitable formula of sharing the divisible taxes would be on the basis of population of each province.

Another reason for not transferring excise duties to the provincial list was that it would soon lead to creation of four competing economies in the country. If a province was an importer of goods from a neighbouring province which were subject to excise duty, it might put some sort of entry tax on those goods if it felt that the exporting province was taking undue advantage of its monopoly power.

Alternatively, it might encourage production of those goods within the province even if it meant misdirection and inefficient use of scarce resources. Such a development would be a very retrograde step. It is a pity that in an era in which countries are surrendering some of their sovereignty to get economic benefits of large integrated markets, some of us are thinking on those lines that will inevitably lead to fragmentation of an existing integrated market and economy.

In order to equitably divide the total resources between the Federation and the Provinces, it would be necessary to amend the Constitution. In addition to royalty and excise duty on natural gas, which is a provincial revenue but administered by the Federation, certain additional heads of revenue should also be declared as provincial taxes so that the Provinces are reassured that they would not be at the mercy of a National Finance Commission after every five years.

These taxes would continue to be administered by the Federation, for the reasons already given, but their net proceeds shared by the provinces. Some other taxes, for which it was not necessary to maintain a uniform country-wide rate, might become provincial subject so that provinces could administer those taxes as they thought fit.

Pending constitutional amendments, existing procedures could be used to solve the problem. The extent of the problem could be visualised from the fact that during the five-year period from 80-81 to 84-85, revenue expenditure of the Provinces increased at an average annual rate of 13.4 per cent but the provincial revenues, other than federal grants but including tax assignments, grew at the rate of nine per cent only. The yearly increasing gap between revenue and current expenditure of the Provinces, is being bridged by the Federal Government through so-called non-obligatory grants to all the Provinces.

As an interim measure, the President should declare, under the power given to him under the Constitution, certain additional taxes and duties to be divisible between the Federation and the provinces. The aim should be not only to bridge the existing gap in the provincial budgets, but also to ensure an annual growth rate of provincial

revenues of at least 15 per cent preferably more.

We are suggesting a growth rate of more than 15 per cent because an annual increase of 15 per cent only will not make any change in the resource position of the provinces except that instead of getting grants from the Federation they will get tax assignments. The provinces must be given adequate revenues to maintain properly the existing social and economic infrastructure, which has been neglected for many years. The habit of letting the roads and the canal system, the life line of our agriculture, to deteriorate till those had to be rehabilitated through a development project, was too expensive in the long run.

Provincial revenue budgets should, therefore, have a growth rate of not less than 20 per cent annum so that assets created through the development budget could be maintained properly and utilised effectively. There is no point in constructing expensive buildings in education and health sectors, when provincial budgets have no funds to make use of, or even properly look after, those facilities.

If it was not possible to assign the task of permanent division of resources between the Federation and the provinces to the National Finance Commission in session, it might be desirable to appoint a special Commission for this purpose. Such a Commission, if appointed, would no doubt study the subject in depth before making any recommendation. In the meantime, we would like to make following suggestions for consideration of the present National Finance Commission.

(a) In addition to income tax, net proceeds of some excise duties, for example, duty on tobacco, sugar and beverages should be shared between the Federation and the provinces. If the provincial share was fixed at 80 per cent as in the case of income tax, the provinces would be able to wipe out their budgetary deficits and also look forward to a regular annual growth in their revenues.

(b) Sales tax should be made a provincial head of revenue. Pending constitutional amendment to that effect, the tax may continue to be administered by the Federation but its net proceeds assigned to the provinces. Once it becomes a pro-

vincial subject, it should be levied at the retail stage so that each Province could fix its rate independently in accordance with its needs, and requirements of economic development. Sales tax, if properly administered, could become a major source of provincial revenue as it has a great potential for growth. In its present form it is customs duty when levied on imports and excise duty when collected at factory gate on local manufactures even if, for some esoteric reason, CBR insist on calling it sales tax.

(c) Provinces should be encouraged to borrow funds for development directly from the market on the security of Provincial Consolidated Fund, as envisaged in Article 167 of the Constitution. If a well administered Province forges ahead through its ability to raise more funds from the market than other Provinces, it should be allowed to do so. The better managed a Province is, the higher will be its credit rating in the market.

(d) Once a fair and just sharing and allocation of taxes and revenues has been achieved, Federal Government should confine itself to helping the less developed regions, directly or through the provincial governments. It should give a relatively free hand to the Pro-

vinces to formulate and implement their own development plans. National Economic Council should not be used as a strait jacket for provincial ADPs, but as a forum to secure coordination between the Federal and Provincial developmental efforts within the guidelines of a country-wide plan. Political autonomy and unitary economic planning, cannot go together.

The Cassandras of politics and administration would probably consider our suggestions as a programme for financial anarchy and chaos. They would conjure up visions of mismanaged and bankrupt Province running to the Centre for help. They may be able even to quota some instances from past (pre 1972) experience. In our opinion the fears were far too exaggerated.

Even if a province made a complete mess of its fiscal autonomy and had to be bailed out by the Federation, the principle of fiscal autonomy would not be invalidated though the defaulting Province would be obliged to accept Federal tutelage for some time. To quote an example, self-governing powers of New York City, (having a budget larger than budgets of many countries), were not curtailed by the United States government when the City government sought Federal aid to overcome a financial crisis created by its own policies.

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CSO: 4600/109

PAKISTAN

SIND ALLOCATES PLOTS TO OVERSEAS WORKERS

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Nov 85 Business Supplement p I

[Text] Karachi, 11 Nov--With a view to encouraging overseas Pakistanis' interest in country's industrialisation efforts, the Small Scale Industries Corporation has earmarked 10 percent of plots for them, in its industrial estates in Sind.

This measure has been taken to supplement the government's efforts to gear up industrialisation throughout the Sind province and to provide job opportunities to unemployed rural manpower.

The infrastructural facilities, such as roads, power, water, sewerage, etc. have already been provided in SSIC small industrial estates.

Meanwhile, applications from other industrialists and investors have also been invited for allotment of developed plots for establishments of industrial projects, particularly in Badin, Mirpurkhas, Shikarpur, Khairpur, Nawabshah and Kandhkot in Jacobabad district.

NOC: 'No Objection Certificate' (N.O.C.) from the government is not required for setting up industries in the small industrial estates and more than one plot measuring 1,000 sq yards can be acquired if required by investors.

The price for a 1,000 sq. yard plot together with infrastructural facilities has been set at Rs 51,000, with provision to make payment in installments.

For details and terms and conditions, investors desirous to acquire plots have been advised to contact SSIC Head Office at Karachi or zonal offices at Hyderabad and Sukkur, and Estate Offices at Badin, Mirpurkhas, Shikarpur, Khairpur, Nawabshah, Kandhkot.

The SSIC, with the aid of World Bank has undertaken a new scheme to assist small industries and for the purpose has set up the Technical Information and Extension Services, (TIES) which is already functioning.

For the efficient running of this project the services of experts from developed countries have been acquired to provide on-the-spot guidance, advice and training to small industrialists and craftsman working in the interior and rural areas of the province.

Allocation: The setting up of the "TIES" wing of the SSIC was approved by the Sind Government in June last year with an ADP allocation of Rs. 0.500 million. Of this, 0.450 million dollars was provided by the World Bank in the form of technical assistance and Rs 1.956 million came as SSIC contribution.

About 32 types of small industries are considered feasible for Thatta, Badin, Dadu, Hyderabad, Tharparkar, Sanghar, Mirpur, Nawabshah, Sukkur, Larkana, Shikarpur and Jacobabad.

Of these, Dadu Industrial Estates have evoked comparatively encouraging response as is evident from the establishment of no less than 28 industrial projects there.

The 32 types of industries are related to agricultural implements, aluminium products, biscuit factory, brick plants, cattle feed, chipboard, cold storages, canvas weaving, desert cooler, firebricks, fruit and vegetable processing, flour mills, gypsum board, hand tools, hotel industry, ice production units, leather industry, light engineering, lace fabrics, locks and pad-locks, nut, bolts and screws, oil expelling units, poultry farming, poultry feed industry, paper converting and packaging, read-made garments, re-rolling mills, rice husk boards, rice milling, soap industry.

/9274

CSO: 4600/110

PAKISTAN

AVIATION INSTITUTE INAUGURATED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] Hyderabad, 12 Nov--President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said here today that the present government was taking all possible steps to link distant and remotest areas with cities by developing air service on scientific and modern lines.

He was inaugurating the Civil Aviation Training Institute at the Hyderabad Airport, constructed jointly by the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at a cost of Rs. 260 million.

The President who arrived here this morning from Karachi by Air said, that the Civil Aviation Authority and the Pakistan International Airlines were actively engaged in providing maximum possible safe, secure and comfortable air facilities to the people, particularly living in the far flung areas.

He said, that it was a matter of happiness that foreign agencies, including the International Civil Aviation Organization and the UNDP were extending material and technical assistance to Pakistan to help achieve the objective.

Highlighting the salient features of the institute, the President felt, that it symbolized the rapid development Pakistan was making in almost each and every field.

He said that this development could be sustained only when Pakistan had developed its means of communications, including the air.

He emphasized the need for development of the existing air service inside and outside Pakistan on international standards.

The President had a word of praise for the Civil Aviation Authority and said that the authority was making concerted efforts to bring Pakistan's air service at par with the world's highly developed countries by establishing a network of highly sophisticated institutions such as the present one and constructing runways and airports at Pakistan's most difficult terrain and places.

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CSO: 4600/110

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

GAS RESERVES DISCOVERED--Kashmore, Nov 23--New natural gas reserves have been discovered at At Lt Loti, 45 km from Sui field and the Pirkoh gas field is expected to yield more than the previous estimates. The gas from Loti would be utilised through the modified network of the Sui Northern Gas Pipelines Ltd. and help ease the energy situation in the country. The RS3,435 million project will be completed exclusively by local experts which will be a great achievement, the minister [of state for petroleum and natural resources Dr Mohammad Asad Khan] said. He said the pipes worth Rs 340 million would be manufactured locally. The government wanted to utilise local product for the entire length of the pipeline, he said. The project would be completed by March 1988 after which more gas connections would be possible in the up-country. [Excerpts] [Karachi DAWN (Economic and Business Review supplement) in English 24 Nov 85 p i GF] /6662

PAKISTAN-OMAN TRADE DEAL--Karachi, Nov--Pakistan is considering import of crude oil from Oman in a multi-million dollar trade deal likely to be signed shortly, informed sources told DAWN. They said samples of the Omani crude have already arrived and are being tested in the two refineries in Karachi. The present trade between the two countries is around Rs 540 million both ways, of which Pakistan has a favourable balance. Pakistan's main export to the Sultanate is rice and textiles. The Omani Secretary of Commerce visited Pakistan in June to discuss a new trade agreement between the two countries. [Text] [Karachi DAWN (Economic and Business Review supplement) in English 26 Nov 85 p i GF] /6662

EXPLORATORY WELLS DUG--Dr Mohammad Asad Khan, minister of petroleum and natural resources, participated in the groundbreaking ceremony for an exploratory well at Chak Narang near Chakwal, 100 km from Islamabad. This came after extensive geological and seismic studies conducted by the Oil and Gas Development Corporation [OGDC]. The minister told correspondents that exploratory drilling is being carried out by the OGDC in three other locations, namely Hyderabad, Dadu, and offshore the Indus basin. The minister added that during the current financial year OGDC plans to undertake drilling of 22 wells, of which drilling has already started or is nearing completion on 14 wells. [Summary] [Karachi DAWN (Economic and Business Review supplement) in English 26 Nov 85 p i GF] /6662

ROBBERS BATTLE WITH POLICE--Karachi, 12 Nov--Four dacoits fought a running gunbattle and were finally killed in a bungalow where they entrenched themselves and defied several hundred policemen for more than four hours in North Namimabad on Tuesday. A constable was also killed and five senior police officials, including a DIG and two inspectors, got bullet injuries in the biggest 'street gunfight' in Pakistan's history. Smoke bombs, tear-gas shells and thousands of rounds fired from the sten-guns and the Soviet Klashnikovs carried by the dacoits and the Chinese rifles of Sind Police shook the entire Block 'I' locality where the high noon thriller was witnessed by thousands of residents. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 13 Nov 85 p 1] /9274

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